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Introduction

2nd Conflict, Change and Cooperation – International PhD Student Conference, University of Szeged: A conference postponed

The end of the year 2019 and the year 2020, in particular, have posed an extraordinary challenge to the global community of mankind. The COVID-19 pandemic has affected the global economy, and have confronted us with many difficulties from the individual to the institutional level, in a momentarily unknown degree. It not only raised questions upon existing political and social practices, but also compelled academia to find new ways to engage with research, education and scientific communication. In response to this challenges, symposiums throughout the globe have been postponed either to a later date or have been adapted to this most unfavourable situation, and moved to the online sphere.

The aim of our conference, organized by the Doctoral School of History of the University of Szeged, would have been to gather PhD students and early career researchers across humanities in order to discuss the developments of the 19–20th centuries: to grasp the fermentation of ‘the age of empire’¹, and to explore the new directions, ideas and social action brought about in the wake of the fall of the great eastern empires of the Habsburgs, Romanovs and Ottomans. The year of 2020 in Hungary also has been marked by the commemoration of the 100th anniversary of Treaty of Trianon: dozens of scientific conferences and other events have been organized (and, of course, either postponed or cancelled).² Our hope was to convoke the experiences of the broader region, and in a sense, thereby to take a look on our own national history with a wider, i.e., a transnational perspective. Similarly to our aims laid down last year, we still feel dedicated to the encouragement of regional collaboration and cooperation, therefore we are determined to organize similar (online) events in the future.

The present volume of the 30th issue of the *Mediterrán Tanulmányok – Études sur la région Méditerranéenne* contains 13 articles, each written by either currently PhD students or early career researchers who investigate the history, the literary representation or the linguistic heritage of the vast area constituted by the above-mentioned empires, or discussing relevant issues in the context of the broader period’s conflicts and changes.

The first group of articles deals with the various aspects of identity. Kutse Altın (University of Szeged) investigates the place of Tayyip Gökbiçgin and of Ottoman Studies in the

¹ Hobsbawm, Eric: *The Age of Empire 1875–1914*. Vintage Books, New York 1989.

² Most of the commemorations in Hungary was organized by the state-run Centenary Commemorative Committee which offered a wide spectrum of cultural programs and various funds (for renovation of military graveyards, e. g.). However, the most representative vehicle of historical research, in Hungary, has been the ‘Trianon 100’ Lendület [Momentum] Research Group under the aegis of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. See more: <https://trianon100.hu/> (accessed 15 October 2020)

newly founded Turkish Republic's national historiography. Beyond providing an outline of Gökbilgin's scientific career, the author also argues that the development of Ottoman Studies was not hampered by, as it is still widely acknowledged, the early republican nationalist vision of historiography. Terézia Podhajská (Comenius University) explores the place of Slovenian identity between the national and the supranational level, offered by the idea of Yugoslavism, in the first Yugoslavia. It is argued that although the Slovenes wholeheartedly supported the idea of Yugoslavia, they worked for wider national self-government within the Yugoslav framework. Podhajská argues that the contemporary school textbooks offer the best evidence of the development of Slovenian national identity, and which also reflects the Slovenian People's Party pursue for a federalist Yugoslavia. Through the analysis of Mehmet Akif Ersoy's prominent work, titled *Asım*, Mortaza Firuzi (University of Szeged) portrays an ideal generation of Ottomans who would secure a prosperous future for their state in the wake of Ottoman collapse and the proclamation of the Turkish republic. Firuzi offers a brief insight into Ersoy's notion on the relationship between nationality and religion. The centre of Olga Kuznetzova's (Saint Petersburg State University) article is the political thinking of a Russian émigré, Sergei Prokopovich. Contrary to the stand of the bulk of post-1917 Russian emigrants, Prokopovich rejected the idea of the restoration of the monarchy in Russia, and Kuznetsova, based on Prokopovich publications, put under scrutiny his views on a modern democratic Russia. The paper of László Ambrus (Eszterházy Károly University) discuss the loyalties and identities of those Hungarians who had emigrated to the United States prior to World War I. Although many of them joined the American army after the country entered the war in 1917, as Ambrus points out, the Hungarian community had to face ethnically inspired atrocities (being the compatriots of the enemy) during the war.

The second block of articles deals mainly with representation. Amalia Maria Bolcu (West University of Timișoara) uses French medieval and 19th-century naturalist texts to compare two different types of soldier and to describe the transformation which takes place from the heroic, brave and kind knight to the cruel, frightening Prussian soldier who kills for his own entertainment. Andreea-Roxana Dobrescu (West University of Timișoara) studies the term of agony based on a French collection of six novels, *Les Soirées de Médan* ("Evenings at Médan"), about the Franco-Prussian war (1870–1871). She focuses on the three different meanings of the term agony: medical (death of war participants), philosophic (woman's anxiety of abandon and defenceless) and abstract (the collapse of French political system). Dorottya Mihályi (University of Szeged) shed light on the essential role of travelers in image- and knowledge-production of a certain territory, and, often, to facilitate the realisation of certain national agendas (such as colonialism) there. Relying on a substantial amount of travelogues, Mihályi carefully demonstrates how these texts aim to manipulate the reader and the wider public opinion. Murat Işık (University of Szeged) presents the linguistic characteristics of the Karaims, a Turkic community in Eastern Europe which follows the Judaist faith, by meticulously analyzing their sacred texts, especially the so-called Gözleve Bible of 1841.

In the third section of articles, Anastas Bezha (University of Szeged) puts under investigation the Austro-Hungarian policies in Albania before and during World War I. The article shed light on the crucial role the Danube Monarchy had in the creation of Albanian nationalism and the Albanian national state itself. Cengiz Ergün (University of Szeged), by

utilizing Ottoman archival material too, shows the Ottoman state's attempt, similarly to its European counterparts, to control the movement of its citizens by issuing different travel permits in its territory. Ergün emphasizes that it is essential to see that the control of travel was part of the Ottoman Empire's centralization policies which meant to cure the state's myriad of problems. Charles Barton (University of Belgrade) seeks to present the early encounter of the United States with the Near East (as the greatest ambits of the Ottoman Empire once was called) through the activity of High-Commissioner Bristol. The author argues that Bristol showed a particular interest in the promotion of American business interests in the region, while he was somewhat indifferent to President Wilson's vision in the region and to the plight of the Christian minorities in Asia Minor. Luka Pejić (J. J. Strossmayer University of Osijek) takes us to the last days of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Similarly to other war-trodden parts of the empire, social unrest and social resistance to the war effort and to the state became apparent in Croatia too. Pejić explores the collapse of the Dual Monarchy's "repressive mechanisms" and the proliferation of socialist ideas among the Croatian population and among deserted soldiers, who often grouped into "bands" and harassed the rural population for years in Croatia-Slavonia.

Finally, we would like to express our gratitude to our Professors who had supported us in every possible way from the beginning. We owe special thanks to, the main editor of the present volume, Dr. Péter Ákos Ferwagner and to Dr. Judit Pihurik who generously offered the financial help of the Hungarian Historical Association. We are also grateful for the abundant support of the "Szegedért" Foundation which made possible the publication of the present volume.

Balázs Balatoni – Dorottya Mihályi
18th October 2020, Szeged

*Illustrating the Discussions on Ottoman Studies in the Early Republican Turkey through Tayyib Gökbişin**

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Tayyib Gökbişin (1907–1981), who ranks among the founding fathers of Ottoman studies was one of the most influential historians of the early period of the Turkish Republic. He was born in 1907 in Ordu. For four generations, the cognomen of the family was *Müderriş*, *Müderrişzâde*, or *Hocazâde*.¹ The word *bişin*/scholar in his surname might be taken as an indication of family background who were belonged to the *ilmiyye* class², dealing mainly with law issues and education in the small towns of Anatolia. Although his primary education suspended during the period of Armistice, he was a student of *Medrese*³ and took classes such as *Sarf-ü nahiv* (grammar).⁴ Later, Hocazâde Mustafa Tayyib Efendi continued his education in *Trabzon Muallim Mektebi*/Teaching School, and right after his graduation, he was assigned to Erzurum Aşkale Village Boarding School, as a teacher in 1929. In the following seven years he taught in various village schools in Anatolia. The year 1936 was a turning point not only for him but also for the field of Ottoman studies and many other historians of the era.

“A snowy winter night in 1935”, says Afet İnan, the adopted daughter of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, the decision of establishing a new faculty in the new capital of the new Republic was taken. According to İnan’s memoir-like article that night Mustafa Kemal stated that all kinds of institutions of the capital of the Republic should be established in Ankara, and this initiative must start with the education of History and Geography.⁵ The Faculty of Language, History, and Geography (*Dil, Tarih, Coğrafya, Fakültesi*) was established a year after in 1936 in Ankara as it was ordered. After the foundation of the Faculty, upon the request of Afet İnan, the graduates of teacher schools also got accepted into university besides the high school students only for that time. Thus, Tayyib Gökbişin had also enrolled in the Faculty and begun his university life in the Hungarian Studies (Hungarology) Department. While the Faculty of Language and History was founded, Hungorology was in-

* This paper contains some parts of my forthcoming PhD dissertation “Tayyib Gökbişin and the Historiography of Early Republican Turkey”. However, it was reformulated and formatted for this publication.

¹ Müderriş: teacher, müderrişzâde, hocazâde: the son of the teacher.

² Scholarly class in charge of organizing the religious affairs, maintaining and application of Islamic law, and educational activities in Ottoman state organization.

³ The educational institutions in Ottoman Empire where language, Islamic practices and theories were taught.

⁴ Kütükoğlu, “Prof. M. Tayyib Gökbişin’in Ardından,” 1–3.

⁵ İnan, “Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesinin Kuruluş Hazırlıkları Üzerine,” 6.

cluded in the scope of the faculty upon the wish of Atatürk. The intellectuals of the era were aware that there was a deep-rooted tradition of Turkish Language and Turkish History in Hungary. Atatürk's main aim to include Hungarian studies to the Faculty's comprehensive training program was not merely a coincidence but was aimed to bring experts who would create connections between the two countries and the official history thesis. One of the main objectives of the department was the adaptation of the results and the methods of the long-term Hungarian-Turkish studies into the Turkish academic life so that Turkology, Turkish linguistics, and Turkish history can benefit from Hungarian expertise.⁶

As has been interpreted by many scholars, the alphabet and language reforms were determined to break the connections of the Ottoman past and revive the ancient ethnic nexus of the Turkish nation. And simultaneously with the Turkish History Thesis, this nexus was reinforced and oriented to Central Asia. This official doctrine was explicitly stating that all civilizations were the descendants of proto-Turkish civilizations or heavily influenced by them. However, the Turkish History Thesis did not have a permanent influence on the higher education institutions and publishing world nor practiced in the long term at a scholarly level as it was expected and eventually lost its extreme hypotheses.⁷

Tayyib Gökbiçgin, as one of the first products of the new regime, one of the first teachers, and as an active member of the first generation of the Republic, rebuilt himself as a historian in accordance with the ideals of the new regimen, in one of the republic's first ideology-based formal educational institutions, *Dil-Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi*, at a time when such discussions were at their apex. While he was constructing himself as a new citizen and scholar, he was also reestablishing a new interpretation of the history of the Ottoman Empire; the history which was allegedly rejected politically in the new regime in line with the trends of that period.

I argue that it is necessary to evaluate those preliminary assumptions claiming that the studies related with the Ottoman past were not encouraged or even completely refused / neglected and brought to the conditions of despising or disclaiming the total legacy of Ottoman Empire. In the early stages of my research, I was also expecting to encounter a view that somehow would represent this general acceptance. However, no letters or documents within the vast personal archive of Gökbiçgin provided me with any evidence that suggests that Ottoman studies were rejected, and/or only the studies concerning Turkism and Turkish History Thesis were supported and conducted under the influence of the Kemalist ideology. At this stage, my main focus was to understand how a young university student can conduct a research titled as "Hungarian Sources on Ottoman History" in a department which was basically established to support the Turkish History Thesis; if the Ottoman studies were, in the harshest terms, rejected, and in the simplest terms, not finding any approval in the early years of the Republic.

However, as I continued my research, I realized that the literature on historiography in the Turkish academic sphere, especially in the last decade, is full of similar statements and

⁶ Güngörmüş, "Hungarológia Törökországban," 26–28.

⁷ Toprak, "Türkiye'de ve Dünya'da Çağdaş Tarihçilik ve Eric Hobsbawm Faktörü," 40; idem, "Erken Cumhuriyet Döneminde Türkiye'de Tarihçilik," 176–181; Gürpınar, *Ottoman/Turkish Visions of the Nation*, 40–44, Zürcher, *Modernleşen Türkiye'nin Tarihi*, 278.

repetitive theorems.⁸ Erdem Sönmez derived a pattern from these similarities; according to this pattern, the modern Turkish historiography started with the Second Constitution era, there was a rejection or academic indifference regarding the Ottoman History in the early republican period, Fuad Köprülü was the first important representative of modern historiography in the Turkish Republic, Zeki Velidi Togan, and then later it is usually stated that Ömer Lûtfi Barkan, Osman Turan, and İbrahim Kafesoğlu were the followers of the *école* of Köprülü and made a valuable contribution to this tradition of historiography. Finally, with Halil İnalcık, it is accepted that Turkish historiography started to produce materials in international standards.⁹ In my doctoral dissertation, I am also following a similar path and not opposing the idea of putting the Second Constitution period as a milestone of the modern and organized Turkish historiography studies. Yet as I have noted before, the problematic aspect of this pattern is the argument that suggests the Ottoman studies in the early republican period were disregarded to emancipate the new citizens of the new regime from the identity formed by Ottoman past.

The scholars like Büşra Ersanlı, Günay Özdoğan, Kemal Karpat¹⁰, who actually have made significant evaluations and critiques of early republican Turkish historiography, are the source of this constantly repeating pattern that produces its own mediocre discourse over time. These works demonstrated that the reforms were not creating a very successful model for national development and criticized the elitist and top-down policies of the early republican period. The common characteristic of these critics suggests that the reconstructions, such as the change of the alphabet and the Turkish History Thesis within the scope of cultural transformation, were top-down reforms, and especially those who do not fit into the patterns of those reforms were excluded to ensure the flourishing of the Kemalist projects. Therefore, the cultural and political heritage of the Ottoman Empire was marginalized, along with the reminiscent of this heritage: the history. However, I think the interpretation that these evaluations brought to the discussions of historiography in the early republic period is not very balanced. As Sönmez states, the first valuable studies in the field of Turkish historiography, like the inevitable disadvantage of all early works in every field, tend to underestimate components that stayed beyond the prominent tendency.¹¹ Büşra Ersanlı's work, titled *Political Power and History: "Official History" Thesis in Turkey*, is one of the most cited works among the theories claiming that the Ottoman studies were neglected during this period. As a matter of fact, Ersanlı's work is one of the pioneering researches that tried to understand the dynamics, relations between the political powers, historiography and national identity. Here, Ersanlı discusses the correlation between the political power, historians and history writing within the context of the establishment of national identity by focusing on the Turkish History Thesis which was enforced in the 1930s when the nation-state process was started to be institutionalized culturally and ideologically. According to Ersanlı, the main purpose of the Turkish History Thesis, which was also one of the fundamental parts of the Kemalist cultural revolution, was to create a strong national conscious-

⁸ Sönmez, "Galat-ı Meşhuru Sorgularken", 55.; idem. "A past to be forgotten?," 2-4.

⁹ Sönmez, "Galat-ı Meşhuru Sorgularken", 55.

¹⁰ Ersanlı, *İktidar ve Tarih: Türkiye'de "Resmi Tarih" Tezinin Oluşumu (1929-1937)*; Özdoğan, "Turan"dan "Bozkurt"a: *Tek Parti Döneminde Türkçülük (1931-1946)*; Karpat, *The Politicization of Islam: reconstructing identity, state, faith, and community in the late Ottoman state*.

¹¹ Sönmez, "Galat-ı Meşhuru Sorgularken", 56.

ness based on the pre-Islamic ethnic identity of the Turks instead of the Ottoman-Turkish identity which lost its legitimacy gradually with the impacts of the Balkan Wars. Ersanlı argues that the continuity in the historical narrative was interrupted. This is because that kind of continuity was disregarding the influence that Islam formed over the Turks in Anatolia and the identity that formulated by the political sovereignty of the 600-year-old Ottoman Empire.¹² The republic and accompanying cultural changes were quintessentially revolutionary and therefore were loaded with pessimistic and prejudiced approaches to the recent past. According to her, despite its temporary nature, the Turkish History thesis managed to paint a gloomy picture regarding the recent past and to break Turkish History from its strongest and longest past, the Ottoman reality.¹³ Because of all this discontinuity and distancing there was a general reluctance to do any kind of research on Ottoman history.¹⁴ Such statements have been repeated in different studies over time.¹⁵ However, in the same study Ersanlı mentions Köprülü's opposition to the official history thesis (although she defines Köprülü's rejections as a shy opposition since his criticism was not directly targeting the official history thesis but the research methods) and also mentions his use of documents, the variety of sources he worked on and his critical publications and evaluations. Nevertheless, she repeats that even the ones who tended to overstep the boundaries mentally and logically, chose to be dependent on this superficiality and could not contribute to the historical studies in a democratic environment.¹⁶

It is essential to emphasize at this point that I do not suggest that the Turkish History Thesis had never been applied or had no impact on education and research in the period in question. However, I exclusively object to the argument that the Ottoman studies in the early republican period were completely ignored or overlooked. The Turkish History Thesis was the official doctrine and even though it was not taken seriously by the academic community, it maintained its dominance for a short period. To argue otherwise would be false representation as well. However, as an eyewitness and as a historian, İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı gives another perspective in one of his articles published in *Belleten* in 1939, titled as 'Turkish history in writing, the Memoirs about Atatürk's interest and views'.¹⁷

The first volume of the outlines of Turkish History was published in 1930. In this volume, which was six hundred pages, the part dedicated only to Ottoman history was fifty pages and Uzunçarşılı states that Mustafa Kemal Atatürk examined the volume and was not satisfied with this work which had lots of mistakes. After this first unpleasant experience, Atatürk stated that to prepare such a work hastily and without gaining the necessary expertise and specialization would cause major mistakes, therefore such work shall be carried out only on the basis of archival documents and research. According to Uzunçarşılı's narration, Atatürk as the patron of the Turkish Historical Association had been attending the research process and meetings for long hours almost for a month. In one of such meetings when one

¹² Ersanlı, *İktidar ve Tarih*, 239.

¹³ Ibid. 241.

¹⁴ Ibid. 221.

¹⁵ Iggers, Wang, and Supriya Mukherjee, *A Global History of Modern Historiography*, 207; Lewis, *From Babel to Dragomans*, 428; Hanioglu, *Atatürk*, 165; Gürpınar, "Double Discourses and Romantic Ottomanism," 39.

¹⁶ Ersanlı, *İktidar ve Tarih*, 187.

¹⁷ Uzunçarşılı, "Türk Tarihi Yazılırken," 349–353.

of the colleagues of Uzunçarşılı mentioned his research where he questioned whether Osman Gazi, the founder of the Ottoman dynasty and the state, existed or not. As a response they all laughed together at this superficial study and Atatürk immediately ordered this article to be rewritten again. Uzunçarşılı concludes his memoirs by stating that it was understood clearly that Ottoman history which existed for six and a half centuries and produced a large number of documents cannot be rewritten from a school textbook which was only published half a century ago. Moreover, a consensus was reached on the necessity of dividing the research into sections such as political history, economic history, and social history and examining each topic by different specialized experts. Within the same article, Uzunçarşılı gives a couple of examples regarding Atatürk's interest in Ottoman history.¹⁸ However, what is important here is, as Uzunçarşılı remarks, that we see the steps in the field of academic specialization had been taken in this period.

It is also possible to trace back, through the journal of the Turkish Historical Association *Belleten*, that contrary to popular assumptions, Ottoman studies found its place in the early republican era. Even though like the Turkish Historical Association itself, this journal was established to support the official history thesis and promote the archaeological studies to prove that high civilization had emerged from the Anatolian lands, various studies related to Ottoman past such as the Delegacy of Âmedî Galib Efendi and His Encrypted Letters from Paris (İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı volume 1/no:2, 1937), About the Captivity and Suicide of Yıldırım Bayezid (Mehmed Fuad Köprülü, volume 1/no:2, 1937), Seven Island Republic According to Archival Documents (İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı volume 1/no:3-4, 1937) were also published in the first volumes.

Certainly, the protagonist of this article, Tayyib Gökbilgin, and the studies he conducted early in his career can be presented as an example in this context. He recognized the importance of the Hungarian sources for the Ottoman History, translated the works of eminent archivist and historian Lajos Fekete while he was still a student.¹⁹

In his first article published in *Belleten* dated to 1939, he presented examples of the content and the organizational structure of the Hungarian State Archives as to offer suggestions for the organization of the Turkish archives.²⁰ He submitted his graduation thesis, *Hungarian Sources on Ottoman History*, in 1940; it was the outcome of the research that he concluded in Hungarian archives. From one letter dated 1940 in the personal archive of Gökbilgin, we can understand that he wanted to conduct a doctoral study about Imre Thököly and exchanged some ideas on that matter with Lajos Fekete. However, Fekete told him that it might be more valuable to conduct research onto the registers (*defter*) since the *defters* were the key point in the study of the Ottoman social history.²¹ He followed this path and conducted his doctoral dissertation in accordance with the recommendations given by Fekete. In 1941, again in *Belleten* he published another study related to the Ottoman-Hungarian common history/past, *II. Rákóczi Ferenc ve Tevaabine Dair Yeni Vesikalar/ New documents related to II. Rákóczi Ferenc and his entourage*. During this period, he was

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Fekete, "A török levéltáruğy/Arşiv Meseleleri", translated by Tayyib Gökbilgin.

²⁰ Gökbilgin, "Macar Devlet Arşivi ve Tarihçesi".

²¹ Papp, "Tayyib Gökbilgin'in İlmi Faaliyetleri ve Macar Tarihçiliği", 52.; From Lajos Fekete to Tayyib Gökbilgin, 19.10.1940. Personal Archives of Gökbilgin Family.

<https://drive.google.com/file/d/1U6NdX5OU506CfqWRcKAywFB9ieW9PUNn/view?usp=sharing>

also writing articles about Ottoman governors and viziers for the Encyclopedia of Islam. Gökbilgin began to work as an associate professor in 1943 in the Modern and Contemporary History Department at İstanbul University. Again in 1943, he was also elected as a member of the Turkish Historical Association. In his dissertation work, which was published later, *Rumeli'de Yörükler ve Tatarlar/Yürüks and Tatars in Rumelia* he states that the aim of the historians “is to illuminate the dark parts of our past which have been left untouched in many respects by relying on completely original documents in historical investigations, and by doing so, revealing the superior and sound foundations of the true features of this great empire”.²² As it might be seen, the early works of Tayyib Gökbilgin demolish the perception that studies on Ottoman History were not performed during the single-party regime. At the end of the 1950s, he started to work on establishing a separate department of history of Ottoman Civilization and Institutions. Gökbilgin achieved his aims in 1961 and became the head of this department. During the same period, he was appointed as the director of the Institute for Islamic Studies at the Faculty of Literature as the successor of renowned turkologist/historian Zeki Velidi Togan. Evidently, this is all to say that the argument that the studies of the Ottoman history were completely excluded in early republican Turkey and that the researchers engaged in the Ottoman history were marginalized, does not completely reflect the fact, as it is observable from the examples. I believe this argument requires a more balanced perspective and monographic studies on the early republican era historians in Turkey.

The first significant studies in the field of Turkish historiography that I mentioned above, which brought stimulating criticisms between the historiography and the power, influenced a new academic generation greatly and became widespread in political circles as well. However in the course of a short time the initial cautious theoretical criticisms gradually disappeared and were replaced by a total accusation.²³ According to Sönmez, the reason for the extraordinary spread of this narrative during the past ten years is that, in terms of its nationalist-conservative actors any kind of narrative of exclusion that they may deduce from the single party regime would be functional for historize and reproduce their own victimization process. This is one of the most prominent reasons for the unquestioning acceptance of the criticisms about Ottoman historiography in the early republican period.²⁴ In conclusion, I can state that there were certain trends and works highlighting the Turkish History Thesis during this period. However, these tendencies lasted only for a brief period of time, and after the 1930s, when the archives became open to researchers, the Ottoman studies gained a great momentum. As Zafer Toprak states, the discussions of historiography that emerged with the Second Constitution offers us relatively pluralistic, more complex approaches despite the fact that the regime was gradually becoming more simplex.²⁵ In other words, contrary to what post-Kemalist views advocate, the Kemalist ideology or the short-lived Turkish History Thesis did not hinder the development of Ottoman studies as a field. The life and works of Tayyib Gökbilgin, indeed, are the proof that it was possible to

²² Gökbilgin, *Rumeli'de Yörükler, Tatarlar, ve Evlâd-ı Fâtihân.*, ix.

²³ For an important assessment of the underlying reasons why these accusations are so widespread, see, Aytürk, “Post-post Kemalizm,” 34–48.

²⁴ Sönmez, “Galat-ı Meşhuru Sorgularken”, 70.

²⁵ Toprak, “Erken Cumhuriyet Döneminde Türkiye’de Tarihçilik”, 176–181.

produce critical works on Ottoman history in the early republican and single party period and the Ottoman past remained on the agenda of significant researchers and academicians.

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Illustrating the Discussions on Ottoman Studies in the Early Republican Turkey through Tayyib Gökbilgin

Tayyib Gökbilgin, who ranks among the founding fathers of Ottoman studies was one of the most influential historians of the early period of the Turkish Republic. He was also one of the prominent historians who conducted numerous researches on Ottoman–Hungarian historical relations. Gökbilgin was the first student of Faculty of Language, History, and Geography (*Dil, Tarih, Coğrafya, Fakültesi*) in the new capital of the new state, namely in Ankara where he began studying Hungarology/Hungarian Studies as a student of László Rásonyi.

The modern practice of history and the advancement of the nation-state progressed side by side and Tayyib Gökbilgin had maintained his modernist Turkish nationalist identity and emphasized that one of the fundamental aims of history was to feel proud with the historical past of the Turks. One can coincide with this statement in almost all historians of the period since it was the clearest example of efforts to legitimize Ottoman history as a part of World history. Tayyib Gökbilgin, like the way his contemporaries, followed the mission of his professor Fuad Köprülü and tried to reveal the truth of the matters that the western world conceptualized incorrectly with incomplete materials, with the capability provided by the authority given by the utilization of the original sources. He, like many of his colleagues, had also a particular interest, an intellectual purpose of breaking down the prejudices against the Ottomans and thus the Turks. It would not be wrong to state that his historiography emerged from this core. However, it also does not mean that he creates an Ottoman admiration or exaltation adorned with unnecessary heroic stories at the opposite end while trying to realize his purpose.

What I plan to proceed in this presentation is to evaluate Tayyib Gökbilgin’s contribution to writing Ottoman History and efforts to legitimize Ottoman History as a part of World History while maintaining his modernist Turkish nationalist identity that was formed by the developments within nation-building process in the late Ottoman and early Republican era.

Slovene National Identity as a Part of Yugoslav Identity or as its Contradiction?

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Introduction

One of the most characteristic features of human beings is the search for identity¹, which defines them on many levels, mainly on the personal, social, cultural, and national level. In the era of today's social and political transformation within the heterogeneity and complexity of Central Europe, the intensity of the search for 'national identity' arises. This concept plays an essential part in the development of one's 'identity' and subsequently the idea of every nation's self-determination and national history. National identity represents one of the strongest collective identifications in contemporary society. However, this phenomenon is a complex concept, which is not easy to define (and analyse) at once. Social categories and collective identities which have been used for self-definition in the past are gradually replaced by other categories that have different meanings now.² Scholars who deal with the matter of nation and identity from the perspective of sociology, anthropology and history consider the use of these terms as quite problematic and ambiguous, because the core problem of the concept of national identity is in the definition of its constituent terms themselves. Therefore, there is not a single explicit or general definition of these phenomena, which have been used in different approaches and discourses throughout history. Thus, in the first place it is needed to discuss the concepts of nation and identity, which will create a conceptual base for the subsequent discussion on the development of Slovene national identity and self-determination during the interwar era. This paper focuses on the development of Slovene national identity and investigates to what extent the Yugoslav identity influenced their self-determination, during the interwar era. The approach of the Slovenes towards their national identification is researched within the discourse of politics of the Slovene People's Party and the education policy and textbooks used in the territory of Slovene people under Yugoslavian educational policy and interwar Yugoslavian policy in general.

Theoretical background of research on 'national identity'

Self-reference or self-identification is closely related to the concept of identity, which can be pursued on personal and social level, as indicated by British social psychologist John

¹ To remain gender-neutral, I will use the gender-neutral third person singular pronoun 'they' and its grammatical variations in contexts in which gender is irrelevant or undisclosed.

² Láštíková, *Slováci a/alebo Európania*, 35.

Turner, who states that “*self-concept can alternate rapidly between one’s personal and social identity*”.³ Anthropologists Brubaker and Cooper suggest viewing this matter as a category of practice which means to research the concept of identity by studying the mechanisms by which this concept crystallizes into reality which is not given.⁴ In regard with the concept of national identity, this view opposes the perceptions of *nations* as “*real entities, social communities and substantial enduring collectivities*”, which share collective “objective” characteristics such as language, religion, myths, memories, and self-understanding.⁵ Following the Brubaker’s idea of *social category of practice*, nations are constantly changing through nationalist and even non nationalist discourses. He addresses the concept of national self-awareness or “*nationness*” as a contingent event or a happening.⁶ Thus, this paper supports the concept of national identity as a *category of practice*, which is continually forming and developing according to different circumstances but also taking on a culturally and politically institutionalized form as a result of these changes. Furthermore, it refers to the concept of identity as a process of identification of an individual with a certain group of people or a development of a feeling of “belonging” toward that group. According to this thesis nations are socially and politically constructed entities or groups which are historically contingent and change over time.

Nations are for most people a mixture of political and cultural factors. British sociologist Anthony D. Smith contributed to the theoretical discourse about nations and nationalism with division of four main theoretical approaches: primordialism, perennialism, ethnosymbolism and modernism.⁷ The concept of nation is sometimes comprehended as an objective existing entity or a reality which has been already given.⁸ That means a nation can be viewed as an organic social unit, whose members are characterized or categorized by a common identity based on common ancestors or ancient ethnic identities who share a common language, race, religion and territory.⁹ This theory is mainly practised within the primordialistic perceptions towards the concept of a nation, which can be present even in today’s political and social discourse in Central Europe.

This paper presents the concept of nation through the optics of modernistic conceptions of Benedict Anderson, Ernest Gellner, Eric Hobsbawm and the sociologist Rogers Brubaker, who precisely try to avoid this objectifying theory and rather focus on cognitive processes which shape the people’s perception about their national identity. The paper also mentions some views of perennialist Walker Connor and ethnosymbolist, such as A. S. Smith, who reflect on the matter of nation, state and identity. However, I realize that the research of nations and nationalism exceeds even the approach of Smith, in regard to which

³ For the further information about John Turners Theory of self-categorization see *Rediscovering the social group: A self-categorization theory*.

⁴ Brubaker and Cooper, *Beyond „identity”*, 1–47.

⁵ Brubaker, *Nationalism reframed*, 27.

⁶ Ibid. 13–22.

⁷ Smith, *Theories of Nationalism*.

⁸ Vörös, *Analytická historiografia versus národné dejiny*, 48–71.

⁹ For more about different analytical approaches towards the concept of *Nation* and *Nationalism* see Ladislav Vörös, *Analytická historiografia versus národné dejiny*.

Andrej Findor points out “*the insufficiently answered problem of ‘ontological reality’ of nations and research on this matter*”,¹⁰

According to anthropologist Benedict Anderson a nation should not be perceived as a political entity but as a state of mind, which is socially constructed.¹¹ As the author describes, nation is an imagined political community, because “*the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion*”.¹² Thus, the nation can be stated as a collective imagination, which consists of an imagined community of people, who are part of the same unit, live in an imagined territory, and share an idea of continuity of the existence of this unit.¹³ This socially constructed community is imagined by the people who perceive themselves as part of that community. The author claims that a nation is always an imagined community, which provides its members with a sense of identity and belonging. The identification with the community is itself a cognitive process of an individual who creates a social classification in their mind, by which they form an ‘imagined community’ of certain people. Then, the individual either joins or differentiates themselves from these imagined groups (or a nation). Furthermore, Benedict Anderson refers to the nation as a community which is not only imagined but also “*inherently limited and sovereign*”.¹⁴ Therefore, the concept of nation is a constructed idea, which makes people differentiate themselves from one another according to the concept of ‘us’ and ‘them’.¹⁵ A nation is formed by individuals who not only share the sense of fellowship between each other but also differentiate from those who do not share this special bond. ‘Us’ and ‘them’ then somehow live in the confrontation with each other, so they are more aware of their own identity as a group.

Like other modernists Anderson considers both nation and nationalism as products of modernity, during the era of modernisation in the 19th century, which have been created as means to political and economic ends. He partly relates with the modernistic approach of Gellner who sees nationalism as “*a political principle demanding the congruence of a national and political unit*”. Anderson sees nationality, “nation-ness” as well as nationalism as cultural artefacts which during the end of 18th century distilled to a complex “crossing” of discrete historical forces. After that they became “modular” and “[...] *capable of being merged with a correspondingly wide variety of political and ideological constellations*”.¹⁶ The nationalistic discourse assumes that *nations* sprung from previously existing ethnic groups, which are characterised by cultural and linguistic patterns and claims that all inhabitants of a certain area possess clearly defined notions of their ‘*national identity*’ and consistently act accordingly. This work however does not aspire to further deal with the nationalistic notions about national identity and ethnicity.

¹⁰ Findor, *Začiatky národných dejín*. 20.

¹¹ Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 6.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Škorvanková, *Vytváranie juhoslovanskej identity...* 9.

¹⁴ Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 7.

¹⁵ For more on the *social identity theory* see works of Tajfel H. and Turner J / Bauman Z. and May T. *Thinking Sociologically*.

¹⁶ Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 4.

The terms of nation and state are not necessarily the same concepts. Like Connor states that there are no “*pure cases of a culturally, ethnically, and linguistically homogenous people (the nation) which corresponds perfectly to the sovereign territory of political control (the state)*”.¹⁷ These concepts are often interchangeable which causes confusions among academics and even ordinary people. This problem with interchangeability occurs mostly in the contexts of multi-national states, such as Czechoslovakia and the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes¹⁸ (the Kingdom of SHS), which were both established after the dissolution of Austria-Hungary in 1918. The Kingdom of SHS, which later became the first state of Yugoslavia, was one of the most diverse and heterogeneous countries of Europe, which united three nations and other minorities¹⁹ and managed (though with many difficulties) to exist as a state for decades, before and even after the Second World War. The national situation in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (and later Yugoslavia²⁰), as a newly established successor-state after World War I, was unique in its multi-national, multi-cultural and multilingual and even multi-religious reality, which influenced the concept of self-determination and self-identification of the Slovene people (and certainly other national minorities and ethnicities in the Kingdom) during the whole 20th century.

The Slovenes, besides the Serbs and Croats, were the only Yugoslav group which developed its national identity before Yugoslavia.²¹ In this context the Slovene nation can be perceived as a category which represent a social group or an ethnic group of people who referred to themselves as Slovenes and lived in the territory of Austria-Hungary and later Yugoslavia.²² At the beginning of the 20th century the proponents of one ethnic Yugoslav nation referred to Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes as “tribes”.²³

The process of creation of national identity is closely conditioned by the highest authorities and institutions of national states.²⁴ As Anthony D. Smith suggests, national identification involves “*some sense of political community*” which “*implies at least some common institutions and a single code of rights and duties for all the members of the community*”.²⁵ According to Dennison Rusinow, the Yugoslav state itself was a result of its “*appropriation and adaptation into originally and philosophically competitive national ideas and nationalist programs of existing ‘proto-national’ Croat, Serb and Slovene communal identities*”.²⁶ In contrast to the period before the First World War, during which the work of forging a Yugoslav identity was carried out largely by a narrow group of cultural elites, “*the new state and its executive organs directly held the reins during this frantic ride to*

¹⁷ Ibid. 157.

¹⁸ Within following pages, the author uses abbreviated form of *the Kingdom of SHS*, derived from the Slovene title *Kraljevina Srbov, Hrvatov in Slovencev*.

¹⁹ Besides Serbs, Croats and Slovenes also Dalmatians, Bosniaks (Bosniak Muslims), ethnic groups in Vojvodina and Montenegro and other.

²⁰ The official name of the state was changed to ‘Kingdom of Yugoslavia’ by King Alexander I Karađorđević on 3 October 1929.

²¹ Djokić, Introduction. *Yugoslavism: Histories, Myths, Concepts*, 6.

²² Slovenes populated the regions of Carinthia, Carniola, Gorizia, Styria, Prekmurje, Istria and Trieste.

²³ Djokić, *(Dis)integrating Yugoslavia*, 141.

²⁴ Škorvanková, *Vytváranie juhoslovanskej identity...* 10.

²⁵ Smith, *National Identity*, 19.

²⁶ Rusinow, *The Yugoslav idea before Yugoslavia*, 12–13.

wards a unitary Yugoslav identity".²⁷ During the reign of King Alexander I, modern unitary Yugoslav identity was propagated and used to erase particularistic identities, which later turned out to be unsuccessful. At the end it was the "artificiality"²⁸ and the identity politics of Yugoslavia which caused the failure of assimilation of the South Slav peoples of Yugoslavia into a united Yugoslav identity. The emergence of the Kingdom of the SHS thus brought together number of nations which differed in culture, religion, but also in their political traditions and governance. However, Slovenes played an integral part in the creation, development and later ultimate dissolution of the Yugoslav state. After 1918 territory of Slovene people became the most economically and industrially developed part in the Yugoslavia. According to Mitja Velikonja "both Yugoslavias²⁹ played a key role in the development and formation of the modern Slovene national identity, just like the Slovenes played an important part in history of Yugoslavim(s) and Yugoslav state(s)".³⁰

The concept of Yugoslavism does not have a single clear definition because many concepts and approaches have been published on this matter.³¹ Overall, the concept can be understood as a general idea of the 'unity' of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes. This "unity" was often represented by self-perceived kin or even "community of blood" which makes different populations "scarcely distinguishable from one another".³² Members of the nation or ethnic community often identified themselves as brothers who are linked by a bond of blood or race. This can be seen within the establishing process of Yugoslavia based on the idea of *narodno jedinstvo* (national oneness). In the Corfu Declaration of 1917, the Serbian Government and the Yugoslav Committee stated that their "trinomial nation" shared "the same blood and spoken and written language" and therefore "the idea of its [the Yugoslav nation's] unity could never be extinguished".³³

The nationalistic approach about Yugoslav nation considers Yugoslav, Serbian, Croatian and Slovene (and any other sub-Yugoslav) nations as antagonist and mutually exclusive forces, which fight for their "predetermined" national autonomy and sovereignty. However, Pieter Troch suggest that Yugoslav nation should be viewed as a composition of "contingent, dynamic and overlapping categories of national identity instead of hierarchy of clearly delineated, stable and determined, regional, national, and supranational identities".³⁴ Therefore, it is needed to consider that these individual identities are overlapping and at the same time consistent through the institutionalization of Yugoslav nationhood which "shaped their mutual relationship and connection to internal divisions with the nation-state".³⁵

²⁷ Nielsen, *Making Yugoslavs*, 5.

²⁸ Djokić, Introduction. *Yugoslavism: Histories, Myths, Concepts*, 4.

²⁹ The first Yugoslavia was established in 1918–1941, the Second Yugoslavia in 1945–1992.

³⁰ Velikonja, "Slovenia's Yugoslav century," 99.

³¹ For more on this subject, among many other see Djokić, *Yugoslavism: Histories of a Failed Idea*; Nielsen, *Making Yugoslavs*; Wachtel, *Making a nation, breaking a nation*.

³² Gat, and Jakobson, *Nations*, 18–22.

³³ *Krfska deklaracija od 20. (7.) jula 1917*. As cited in Djokić, *(Dis)integrating Yugoslavia: King Alexander and Interwar Yugoslavism*, 2003, 141.

³⁴ Troch, *Nationalism and Yugoslavia*, 11.

³⁵ Ibid.

Approaches to the formation of Slovene national consciousness and its situation during the interwar Yugoslavia³⁶

The concept of Slovene nation and identity is broad in its various definitions among (mostly Slovene) historians. Slovene historian Repe notes that the development of Slovene national identity often clashes with myths and ideological political interpretations. Slovene historiography contains primordialistic explanations of the establishment of the Slovene nation, which presuppose that the nation developed from a pre-existing Slovene ethnic community and therefore in order to achieve its original *identity* they focused on various territories which were situated in the Slovene ethnic territory. Smith refers to this approach as ‘cultural nationalism’ which took root especially in Eastern European populations which existed only as “*ethnic categories, without much self-consciousness, such as the Slovaks, Slovenes and Ukrainians, who had few ethnic memories, distinctive institutions or native elites*” and also among “*well-defined nations with definite borders, a self-aware population and rich memories, like the Croatians, Czechs, Hungarians and Poles; or among peoples with religious memories and institutions like the Greeks, Serbs and Bulgarians*”.³⁷

The most known myth about Slovene identity is the Venetic theory, which presupposes the Slovene origin from Venetic territory. Other myth supports the idea of South Slavs who created their own state of Carantania already under the rule of Avar at the end of sixth century. This state which was considered as “a cradle of the Slovenehood” was later enslaved by the Germans who dominated Slovenes until the end of World War I.³⁸ Such mythology and romanticizing seems to be a typical feature for all Central European nations, “*which are believed to have had a kind of state (later lost) in the early Middle Ages – even though nationality played no role during those times*”.³⁹

However, this work follows the argument that no such community had existed before the period when the modern Slovene nation was starting to form. Modernistic arguments state that Slovene nation is a modern phenomenon, which developed due to random sequence of historical events and not from a predestined community. Slovene historians Jernej Kosi and Rok Stergar oppose arguments about objectively definable ethnic communities.⁴⁰ They pursue this opinion by applying an analytical approach and considering modern interdisciplinary approaches about ethnic communities. The notion of Slovene community which would be territorially congruent with the modern Slovene nation did not exist yet because this notion or imagination of Slovene community only emerged as a new idea at the turn of the 19th century.

Slovenes or a Slovene nation, are referred in this work as a social group of people who lived in original regions of Carinthia, Carniola, Gorizia, Styria, Prekmurje, Istria and Trieste⁴¹, which were territorial parts of Austria and under the governance of the Austro-Hungarian empire until its dissolution. Those political-administrative units were the home-

³⁶ The title Yugoslavia refers to the first Yugoslavia from the interwar era, which includes the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes and the Kingdom of Yugoslavia and its dictatorship after 1929.

³⁷ Smith, *Nationalism and modernism*, 178–180.

³⁸ Repe, *Regional differences, Slovene national identity*, 256.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Kosi, and Stergar, *Kdaj so nastali “lubi Slovenci”?* 458–488.

⁴¹ Rychlík, *Dějiny Slovinska*, 6.

land of the heterogeneous ethnical community of Slavs, which had preceded the later development of the group of Slovenes (and certainly other ethnical and lingual groups of people, mostly of German and Romanian origin). The population of *Slovenes* in that time did not create their own territorial unit. After World War One this group became a part of the new successor state, the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, later called Yugoslavia. In that time the Slovene ethnic territory fell under management of two administrative regions of Ljubljana and Maribor. However, the centralist *Vidovdan* constitution (28th June 1921) divided the Yugoslav state into thirty-three provinces with no regard for ethnic composition, which signified a great disappointment of both Slovenes and Croats. After 1929 the regions of Slovene people joined into a province called *Drava banovina*, which officially defined Slovenes territorially for the first time. It was the only of the nine Yugoslav regions which was occupied by a single nation.⁴²

In Central Europe, during the era of the advent of modern nationalism, language was the most common feature of 'national individuality' by which different ethnicities differentiated themselves from one another.⁴³ The development of Slovene national identification is a modern phenomenon which started during the 'spring of nations' when the sense of belonging to this nation was gradually spread among the Slovene population by means of nationalist organizations' agitation, mass politization, and activities of the state. This process of national development matches with the most well-known thesis about typologies and phases in nationalism created by Miroslav Hroch. He defined three chronological stages in the creation of a nation. The nation-forming process starts among certain groups of scholars and intellectuals, then the process progresses with a period of patriotic agitation among common people and at the end it culminates by mass-spreading national movement.⁴⁴

The process of the creation of Slovene national awareness firstly began with the consolidation of the Slovene literary language⁴⁵ which was then the only unifying element of all regionally divided group of Slavs (later known as Slovenes).⁴⁶ Slovene historian Janko Kos suggests that only during this period the Slovene nation had the opportunity to shape their national consciousness and identity.⁴⁷ The consolidation of Slovenia's common national identity, which took place between 1848 and 1918, was reflected also in school readings which consisted mostly of modified translations of old German materials. These translations highly influenced the formation of a uniform Slovene literary language which provided an essential basis for the development of a common national identity.⁴⁸

At the turn of the 19th century, the Slavs who lived in the south-eastern parts of the Alps, were fragmented politically and administratively among different regions and historical territories. This prompted the development of regional or territorial consciousness

⁴² Luthar et al., *The Land Between*, 390.

⁴³ Hroch, *Úvodem k čítance textů o nacionalismu*, 12.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Slovene historiography considers the publication of the first Slovene Grammar book as the start of the Slovene national awareness process during the 18th century. Even though in the 16th century Primož Trubar already wrote the first Slovene language printed book *Catechism*, which for the first time presented the base for the Slovene literary language of Lower Carniolan dialect.

⁴⁶ Pugelj, *Slovenci in Kolektivne identitete*, 43.

⁴⁷ Kos, *Slovenstvo kot vprašanje istovetnosti in razlike*, 29–38.

⁴⁸ Almasy, *...za Boga in véro, za cesarja in domovino!* 508.

among them. The population of Slavs which lived in these territories did not yet refer to themselves as *Slovenes* or by any expression which would define their nationality or national awareness until the 19th century. Even within the multinational milieu of Austria-Hungary Slovenes were able to form, “*besides regional, also a national consciousness*”. The population of Slovene people in that time defined itself mostly in terms of location, region, and province.⁴⁹ This can be seen on the usage of old regional names such as “*Kranjci, Korošci, Štajerci*”.⁵⁰ German population of that areas referred to Slavs living in the area by the traditional name *Winden*.⁵¹

In the period of the Enlightenment and Romanticism, the formation of Slovene cultural identity was added to their ethno-linguistic identification. On this basis, they began to shape the structures of Slovene culture, society, and nation in a modern sense. The ultimate goal of the political endeavour and national awareness of the Slovene nation, in the sense of Anderson’s imagined community, had started to form by the national program called *Zedinjena Slovenija* (United Slovenia), which de facto persisted as the basis of their political endeavours from 1848 until the first half of the 20th century, when the Slovene *nation* became a part of a common Yugoslav state, Yugoslavia. The main objective of this program was not the founding of a new separate state, but a union of Slovenes within a self-governed unit with its own national assembly. *Slovene political mentality*⁵² was in 20th century characteristic by the idea that “*opponents must either be totally subjugated or be classified among national enemies*”.⁵³ Slovene people were able to acquire political consciousness and became accustomed to parliamentarism, although in a limited form.⁵⁴ During the Kingdom of Yugoslavia the Slovenes achieved a sort of informal cultural autonomy, despite the state being centralist and nondemocratic.⁵⁵ Under the Austria, “*national affiliation had never been a constitutive element of Slovene consciousness*”, however, between 1918 and 1929 the national self-identification became exactly like that.⁵⁶

Slovene political representatives entered the new state with great enthusiasm despite Yugoslav unification and unitarist policy.⁵⁷ They willingly accepted Yugoslav unification because it earned them protection from invasive neighbouring states (Italians and Germans) and belief in future realization of their national program.⁵⁸ However, the unitarian concept of Yugoslavism and multinational, multi-ethnic, and multilingual features of the new state started to clash with Slovene expectations.⁵⁹ Slovene self-government within the Kingdom of SHS was limited and the nation continued to be fragmented and divided, namely be-

⁴⁹ Hladký, *Slovinsko*, 39–40.

⁵⁰ These names refer to original regions of Carinthia, Carniola, Styria; in Slovene language Koroška, Kranjska, Štajerska.

⁵¹ Hladký, *Slovinsko*, 39.

⁵² Of all three Slovene political camps: catholic, liberal, and social/communist parties.

⁵³ Repe, *Regional differences, Slovene national identity...* 255.

⁵⁴ Repe, *Between myths and ideology*, 20.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ Luthar et al., *The Land Between*, 389.

⁵⁷ Velikonja, *Slovenia’s Yugoslav century*, 4–5.

⁵⁸ The program included demands for the establishment of self-government or at least interconnection of Slovene ethnic territories.

⁵⁹ Luthar et al., *The Land Between*, 384.

tween four states: the Kingdom of SHS, Italy, Austria, and Hungary. The *Vidovdan* Constitution of 1921 was based on the distribution of power, among different regions, municipalities and circuits of Serbian, Croatian and Slovene territories and the king participated in all three forms of authority. The Constitution envisaged the centralist organisation of the state. Slovene view on '*the constitutional question*' in Yugoslavia was summed up by Slovene politician Albin Prepeluh who stated that "*The 'tribes' which have been united into the Yugoslav state developed for centuries severed from each other, and they took on their cultural-historical, religious, and socio-economic forms in milieus that were completely different, even mutually contradictory.*"⁶⁰

Yugoslavia was constituted by three nations speaking two languages and writing in two alphabets and practicing three religions. The two variants of the official language were Serb-Croatian and the Slovene language. Despite unitarist concepts, the national emancipation of the Slovene nation was reflected in at least the free use of the Slovene language, which became the second official language of the Kingdom of SHS. Slovene nation thus had an advantage over the Croats and the Serbs because not many of them spoke the Slovene language. Slovene language become the only language of instruction in schools and consequently led toward the "Slovenianization" of cultural institutions⁶¹ in the territory of *Drava Banovina*.⁶² Furthermore, Slovene lands⁶³ were, except the territories of central Serbia and Croatia, the only one territory which was nationally homogeneous.⁶⁴ The Slovenes were suddenly in a situation in which they identified themselves as people who talk with the same language, manage most of their offices and school themselves and share a unique culture. However, at the same time they lived in a state in which they officially met with the new identity of the united Yugoslav nation. The clash of the identities became apparent during the dictatorship in 1929, when school authorities from Belgrade attempted to get rid of Slovene textbooks of content that was "*extremely important for building up Slovenian national identity*".⁶⁵ Despite a dissatisfaction with the new state, Slovenes considered unification as "*the least undesirable – if not best-liked – solution to its national question*".⁶⁶

Slovene political leaders, although they shared the same Habsburg heritage as the Croats, took a more pragmatic approach to the formation of the Yugoslav state. Slovenes were a small population and had no state tradition upon which to draw. However, the idea of Yugoslav unitarism divided Slovene political spectrum (just like the political spectrums of other member *nations* and groups). The politicians who uniformly opposed the idea of Yugoslav unitarist and centralistic state were the representants of Slovene People's Party

⁶⁰ As cited in Suppan, 2003, 157.

⁶¹ Within the Yugoslav state Slovenes were able to set up their own education and cultural institutions e.g. University in Ljubljana in 1919, the Slovene academy of Arts and Sciences in 1938, etc.

⁶² Gašparič, *SLS pod Kraljevo diktaturo*, 32.

⁶³ This term is a historical denomination for the territories in Central and Southern Europe where people primarily spoke Slovene language. Most Slovene scholars prefer to refer to the "Slovene Lands" in English rather than "Slovenia" to describe the territory of modern Slovenia and neighbouring areas in earlier times. The use of the English term "Slovenia" is generally considered by Slovene scholars to be anachronistic due to its modern origin.

⁶⁴ Pirjevec, *Jugoslavie 1918-1992*, 13.

⁶⁵ Luthar et al. *The Land Between*, 389.

⁶⁶ Ibid. 390.

which remained true to the concept of building Slovene national individuality unlike the unitarist and centralistic fractions of other Slovene political camps. Their policy gained the highest support among other Slovene political parties within the Slovene lands.⁶⁷ In 1923 Slovene People's Party published brochure called *Sodite po delih!* (Judge by Actions!) in which it proposed demand for Slovene autonomy. During the '20s the Slovene People's Party⁶⁸ continued in agitation for its national policy within the national programme and later within the autonomist and pro-federalist movements in which Slovenes demanded decentralization, their own parliament and, above all, recognition of Slovene national identity.⁶⁹ The Slovene autonomist and federalist demands were outlined in the Ljubljana Declaration in 1932, which were though suppressed by the dictatorial Yugoslav regime. Until the death of King Aleksander and change of the regime in 1935, Slovene People's Party "no longer emphasized the federalist demands, but it did not forget them".⁷⁰

Even though the Slovene People's Party and other Slovene intellectuals rejected the idea of integral Yugoslavia, they were not anti-Yugoslav. These politicians initially stood for federal Yugoslavia, in which the Slovenes would gain sufficient political autonomy, but eventually the Slovene People's Party would officially accept the state centralism.⁷¹ This can be seen in the dual and pragmatic policy of Anton Korošec, the head of the party, who was aware that political power of Slovene People's Party was relatively small within the Yugoslav parliament. However, the cooperative political activity with Croat autonomists and parliamentary partnership with the Serbian centralist was by him and his followers perceived as the only way to shape the state policy and facilitate the maintenance of prosperous positions for Slovene people.

The Role of the School system in the formation of Yugoslav national awareness of Slovene people in interwar Yugoslavia

Modernistic approaches toward conceptions of nation and nationalism state that one of the most influential determinants which helped to form a modern nation is the educational system.⁷² Eric Hobsbawm explains that one can understand the nature of a nation by analysing its national traditions and that national traditions are one kind of invented traditions.⁷³ He considers that education along with flags, images, ceremonies, music etc. helps to legitimize governance of ruling elites over a state and to influence or standardize certain norms of human behaviour and cognition. Moreover, Connor states that the nation forming process is conditioned by the mass-spreading of national awareness and national identity which are facilitated by state school systems.⁷⁴ The emergence of state-institutionalized, homogeneous, and mass school education originated in the 19th century. During that time, education

⁶⁷ Rychlík, *Dějiny Slovinska*, 164.

⁶⁸ During 1923 also the communist party abandoned their initial unitarian centralist view.

⁶⁹ Perovšek, *Slovenians and Yugoslavia 1918-1940*, 52.

⁷⁰ Ibid. 57–58.

⁷¹ Gašparič, *SLS pod Kraljevo diktaturo*, 37.

⁷² The importance of education in the process of forming a modern *nation* was analysed by Gellner in *Nations and Nationalism*, 63–64.

⁷³ As cited in Findor, *Začiatky národných dejín*, 57.

⁷⁴ As cited in *ibid.* 27.

and the school system served as a tool for the governing authorities which enabled the formation and persistence of national states by the spreading of national awareness and national consciousness through certain 'representations' of national 'history' of the given state.

History is being referred as a set of events of the past captured in chronological order, which are connected through the concept of continuity.⁷⁵ At the same time, these individual historical events construct the history and the narrative of a nation. The term history is viewed as the concept of 'collective memory', which has been analysed by sociologist Maurice Halbwachs.⁷⁶ This concept refers to memories and perceptions of individuals who are part of a certain social unit. Collective memory then shapes or constructs people's perception about 'history' through the eyes of this social unit. Halbwachs also states that "*the beliefs, interests, and aspirations of the present, shape the various views of the past as they are manifested respectively in every historical epoch*".⁷⁷ The past is then shaped by the concerns of the present, which basically transforms the past into a construct. According to sociologist Émile Durkheim "*history does not consist of a series of discrete snapshots, but rather of continuous film in which, even though other images usually appear, the shots hang together and form a continuous stream of images*".⁷⁸ He sees these 'images' as 'collective representations', which define society by objectifying ideas and values.⁷⁹ The representations create a base for the construction of collective identity by means of awareness of a common tradition and at the same time strengthen solidarity and loyalty among the members of a group. Therefore, the history represents a continuous sequence of events, which creates constructed representations of a social group and its identity. These representations of the past were and still are part of every social community. In the context of state-organization, one of the possible means of mediation of these representations is the school system, which can influence the national identity of a community and its individuals.

Control of the state over educational system is reflected in the acceptance of the curriculum and the approval of the textbooks and other possible teaching materials according to which the teaching process takes place. State's ideology influences the structure of history teaching, mostly by creating positive attitude towards their homeland, the state, and the authorities.⁸⁰ Also, according to Vodopivec, history teaching is the product of the ruling ideology and policy of the social and political system.⁸¹ History teaching brings the pupils images of the past, which are propagated by ruling elites, ruling political parties and national institutions according to their methods and instruments.⁸² The process of creation of a common identity is thus enabled by a common system of values and common historical (collective) consciousness. The concept of 'us' and 'them' which applies the concept of roles of "friendship" and "hostility" within the narratives in the history textbooks elaborates the orchestration of the process. History then serves as a source of various representations,

⁷⁵ Škorvanková, *Vytváranie juhoslovanskej identity...* 11.

⁷⁶ Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, 22.

⁷⁷ Ibid. 25.

⁷⁸ Ibid. 26.

⁷⁹ Findor, *Historické reprezentácie*, 408.

⁸⁰ Kos, *Ideološki koncepti v učbenikih zgodovine*, 64.

⁸¹ Vodopivec, *Zakaj in kako otrokom pripovedujemo zgodovino?* 1258.

⁸² Ibid.

traditions, myths, and stereotypes, “as convenient tools for shaping and spreading the desirable historical consciousness” as well as positive image towards nation and patriotism.⁸³ Such case can be seen within the school system and teaching materials in Yugoslavia which reveal how the state authorities “attempt to instil national identity into young generations and how they define ‘the cultural stuff’ that determines national identity”.⁸⁴

During the interwar era, after the establishment of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, the Main Educational Board (*Glavni prosvetni svet*), an advisory organ of the Ministry of Education, agreed that education should play a crucial role in the consolidation of Yugoslav identity. During the first annual meeting⁸⁵ of the Association of Yugoslav Teachers, the Association adopted a resolution which proclaimed that Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes were “three branches of a common tree”.⁸⁶ The subsequent changes in the school system were proposed by educational authorities, which were considered the “creators” of the Yugoslav nation, much like the soldiers and diplomats who were considered the “creators” of the Yugoslav state.⁸⁷ However, in the first decade, the Kingdom of SHS had no official laws on education or its unified concept and continuity because of the overall political instability and problematic unification of different school systems. The new school reform was adopted and finally came into force in 1929 during the 6th January Dictatorship, when a single Yugoslav nation started to be propagated. This act unified the school system of elementary schools in all areas of Yugoslavia and introduced compulsory eight-year school attendance.⁸⁸ However, most of the students in interwar Yugoslavia ended their schooling after finishing the fourth year of primary school. The Yugoslav population thus gained all its knowledge about its “own past” from history textbooks in the third and fourth years.⁸⁹ In the national elementary schools, pupils were meant to be educated “in the spirit of the nation and national unity”, with “cooperation of all cultural institutions for the national enlightenment” and prepared them for being “moral, loyal and active members of the national and social community”.⁹⁰ Besides the subject of history, Yugoslav national consciousness and ideology was mediated also through literature and geography.⁹¹ The curriculum of common Yugoslav history emphasised the similarities, parallels and common ties in the histories of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes “by reinterpreting symbolic resources, which had already been linked to Serbian, Croatian and Slovenian national histories, as a common Yugoslav state symbols.”⁹² Though the main base of the Yugoslav history was constructed around the Serbian state history, Troch suggest that “there remained considerable overlap between Yugoslav national identity and established definitions of sub-national collective identities among the South Slavs”.⁹³

⁸³ Dimić and Alimpić, *Stereotypes in History Textbooks in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia*, 90.

⁸⁴ Troch, *Nationalism and Yugoslavia*, 12.

⁸⁵ Held on 17th and 18th July in 1920.

⁸⁶ Troch, *Between Tribes and Nation*, 156.

⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁸ Bernik, *Vsebinske in metodološke spremembe...*, 17.

⁸⁹ Škorvanková, *Vytváranie juhoslovanskej identity...*, 103.

⁹⁰ Flere, *Zakon o narodnih šolah s kratko razlago...*, 13.

⁹¹ Bernik, *Vsebinske in metodološke...*, 26.

⁹² Troch, *Between Tribes and Nation*, 181.

⁹³ Ibid.

The Ministry of education had the final word in the matter of school textbooks, thus indirectly influencing the educational policies.⁹⁴ The curricula and the textbooks on history were written also in the Slovene language.⁹⁵ History of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes was taught in the 3rd and 4th year of primary schools, for two hours a week in the third year and three hours a week in the fourth year. The focus of history teaching changed due to the new political situation in 1929. According to primary school curricula in 1933 Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes were no longer the centre of history, instead, the pupils were meant to learn about the history of the Yugoslav nation.⁹⁶ After the partial liberation of the dictatorship in the 1930s, the culture of the Yugoslav nation did not favour Serbian cultural traditions nor repressed Croatian and Slovene cultural traditions in the curricula.⁹⁷ Yugoslavia did not take the stance of pure integrity but acknowledged tribal traditions, names and characteristics of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes. The textbooks written in this scheme were starting with Slovene history, which contained the history of Slovene dukes and the independence of Slovenes since the reign of "Slavic king Samo" in his empire until their common development with the Croatian state which was later incorporated into Hungarian kingdom. The textbooks then continued with the description of Serbian state during the middle ages until its formation of common Slovene, Croatian and Serbian "statehood" was interrupted by Turkish raids. After the Serbian uprising led by the house of Karadjordjević the process of "restoration" of the common Yugoslav statehood under "the original territory of Yugoslavs" have started.⁹⁸ After 1935, the Act on National schools from 1935, considered contemporary didactic and pedagogical requirements for modern schools, but also local problems and needs of individual regions of the Kingdom. Therefore, the teaching process in the fourth grade in the schools in the *Drava banovina* was focused more on "Slovene land" so the pupils could "*acquire the perception of the banovina as an administrative unit*".⁹⁹

With the change of the state organization in the territory of Slovene lands at the turn of the 20th century, the Slovene school system underwent changes too. In the Slovene environment, textbooks were always supplied by the state and schools were not granted freedom of choice. Between 1918 and 1929 Slovene primary schools used textbooks written by Slovene authors such as Janko Orožen, Anton Melik and Josip Brinar.¹⁰⁰ After the establishment of dictatorship in 1929 the Ministry of Education licenced textbooks for publication for four years. After 1929, Slovene schools thus started using Serbian textbooks written by Serbian historians Vasilij Popović and Trajk Antić¹⁰¹ translated into Slovene.

⁹⁴ Dimić, and Alimpić, *Stereotypes in History Textbooks in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia*, 89.

⁹⁵ Referenced as a school subject.

⁹⁶ Bernik, *Vsebinske in metodološke...*, 26.

⁹⁷ Troch, *Between Tribes and Nation*, 179.

⁹⁸ Škorvanková, *Vytváranie juhoslóvanskej identity...*, 140.

⁹⁹ Dolgan and Vranc, *Podrobni učni načrt za ljudske škole*.

¹⁰⁰ Textbooks: Brinar, Josip, *Zgodovina za meščanske šole. Stari in srednji vek*, Ljubljana: Jugoslovanska knjigarna, 1927.; Brinar, Josip, *Zgodovina za meščanske šole. Novi vek*, Ljubljana: Jugoslovanska knjigarna, 1922.; Melik, Anton and Orožen, Janko, *Zgodovina Srbov, Hrvatov in Slovencev za nižje razrede srednjih in njim sorodnih šol, I. del*, Ljubljana: Jugoslovanska knjigarna, 1928.; Melik, Anton and Orožen, Janko, *Zgodovina Jugoslovancev za nižje razrede srednjih in njim sorodnih šol, II. del*, Ljubljana: Jugoslovanska knjigarna, 1929.

¹⁰¹ Textbooks: Popović, Vasilij and Antić, Trajko, *Zgodovina starega veka: za I. razred meščanskih šol*, Beograd: Narodna Prosveta, 1934.; Popović, Vasilij and Antić, Trajko, *Zgodovina srednjega veka*

Conclusion

In the period of Austro-Hungarian administration, the South Slavic groups, who later became known as Slovenes, identified themselves according to the region and district in which they lived. National identity, as well as the name of Slovenes, is by modernist historians considered as a modern phenomenon which originated in the middle of 19th century and continued in the development in 20th century. The development of Slovene national identity was influenced by being a part of the multinational Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes (later the state of Yugoslavia), which was one of the most diverse and heterogeneous countries of Europe. This state united three state-creating nations Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes (and certainly other national minorities and ethnicities within the Kingdom), which shared different culture, history, language and even religion. Besides Croats and Serbs only the Slovenians developed its national identity before Yugoslavia. The Slovenes willingly accepted the Yugoslav unification, which earned them protection from threatening neighbouring states. One of the most significant features of the Slovene national emancipation was Slovene language which provided an essential basis for the development of a common national identity. After the Serb-Croatian language, the Slovene language became the second official language of Yugoslavia, which also became the only language of instruction in schools and consequently led toward the “Slovenianization” of cultural institutions in the territory of *Drava Banovina*. However, the unitarian concept of Yugoslavism started to clash with the multinational, multi-ethnic, multilingual and multi-religious features of the new state.

The Slovenes were suddenly in a situation in which they identified themselves as people who talk with the same language and share unique culture, but at the same time determined themselves as a part of the united Yugoslav nation. The pursue for the Slovene autonomy and demand for the federative Yugoslav state shows the effort of Slovene People’s Party to espouse and support Slovenian interests and national identity. However, its policy cannot be stated overall as anti-Yugoslav, which can be seen in the opportunistic and pragmatic policy of Anton Korošec realised by his cooperative political activity with Croat autonomists and parliamentary partnership with the Serbian centralist. The Yugoslav nation is a composition of different categories of national identity which are overlapping and at the same time consistent through the institutionalization of Yugoslav nationhood.

Modernistic approaches toward conceptions of nation and nationalism state that one of the most influential determinants which helped to form a modern nation is the educational system. Control of the Yugoslav state over educational system was reflected in the acceptance of the curriculum and the approval of the textbooks and other possible teaching materials according to which the teaching process takes place. The curriculum of common Yugoslav history emphasised the similarities, parallels, and common ties in the histories of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, though the main base of the Yugoslav history was constructed around the Serbian state history. During the 1930s the Yugoslav state did not take the

za II. razred meščanskih šol, Beograd: Narodna Prosveta, 1934.; Popović, Vasilij and Antić, Trajko, *Zgodovina novega veka za III. razred meščanskih šol*, Beograd: Narodna Prosveta, 1934.; Popović, Vasilij and Antić, Trajko, *Pregled kulturne in gospodarske zgodovine: obče in jugoslovanske: za IV. razred meščanskih šol*, Beograd: Narodna Prosveta, 1934.

stance of pure integrity but acknowledged tribal traditions, names and characteristics of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes.

Discussion on Slovene national identity or national consciousness certainly deserves more space than this work offers. Therefore, further analysis of the Slovene interwar textbooks is required. For the possible further research, it is suggested to focus on the national identity which could be more coherent with the territorial identity in *Drava Banovina*, because it was the only territory within the first Yugoslavia which was nationally homogeneous.

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Slovene National Identity as a Part of Yugoslav Identity or as its Contradiction?

National identity plays an essential part in the development of the idea of every nation's self-determination and national history. National identity is a complex concept, which is not easy to define, especially within the context of modern, multinational states of the central European area, such as Czechoslovakia or the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, which afterwards became Yugoslavia. The new state of Yugoslavia was one of the most diverse and heterogeneous countries of Europe, which united these three nations. Besides Croats and Serbs the Slovenians also developed their national identity before Yugoslavia. The present study examines the duality of the national identity of the Slovene people within the context of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, during the interwar period of 20th century. The Slovenes willingly accepted the Yugoslav unification, which earned them protection from threatening neighbouring states. However, the unitarian concept of Yugoslavism started to clash with the multinational, multi-ethnic, multilingual and multireligious features of the new state. The Slovenes were suddenly in a situation in which they identified themselves as people who talk with the same language and share unique culture, but at the same time identified themselves as part of the united Yugoslav nation. The aim of this study is to present the view of Slovene people on the Yugoslav identity and its influence on their self-determination. The study focuses primarily on the approach of the Slovenes towards their national identification. The first part of the study deals with the Slovene identity from the political discourse and the perspective of the *Slovenes people's party*. The second part deals with the reflection of the Slovene shift towards nationalism in school policies and history textbooks.

An overview of Mehmet Akif Ersoy's ideal generation in Âsım

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Introduction

The Renaissance and the Reformation in Europe led to Europeans scientifically and technological superiority over the Ottoman Empire where no reforms had already been introduced in order to avert the European challenge. Moreover, the French revolution in Europe which had nationalism and republicanism alongside with itself, caused the instigation of ethnicities of the Ottoman Empire, especially non-Muslims, and made the Ottomans to face a series of domestic and international problems. Although the Ottomans also made some attempt to reform their empire in order to solve their problems, it was not enough. Nevertheless, four different leading ideas, which left its impact on literature as well, for saving the Empire were proposed among the intellectuals of the Ottomans: Ottomanism, Islamism, Turkism, and Westernism.¹

Ottomanism emphasized the unification of various elements within the Empire regardless their ethnicity and religious identity were supposed to have the equal right.² However, the Russian–Ottoman war of 1877–1878, as well as the slaughtering of Muslims in the Balkans, and the instigation of Rums and Armenians caused the idea to be rejected and substituted by Islamism.³

The second leading idea was Islamism, which was supposed to unite all Muslims in the pivot of Islam and create a mighty Empire. The idea was developed in magazines such as *Sırat-ı Müstakim* (“The straight path”) and *Sebilürreşat* (“The way of guidance”).⁴ Moreover, Mehmet Akif Ersoy is considered as one of the leading scholars in the Islamism ideology. He had his particular thought and idea regarding identity. In this regard, he expressed his idea, an ideal generation that entitled as *Âsım'ın Nesli* (Âsım's Generation) in the sixth volume of *Safâhat*.

The third leading ideology was Turkism. In this thought, being a Turk was elevated, and it was replaced by gradually weakening of Ottomanism and Islamism. Ziya Gökalp (1876–1924) has been considered as a prominent leading person of this idea.⁵

The fourth ideology was Westernism, introduced in *Servet-i Fünun* (“Wealth of Knowledge”), and it was promoted as a possible cure saving and recovering the Ottoman Empire⁶ under the leadership of Abdullah Cevdet (1869–1932) and Tevfik Fikret (1870–1915).⁷

¹ Ünlü and Özcan, *Yirminci yüzyıl Türk edebiyatı*, 13.

² Hazratî, *Ottoman Constitutionalism* [مشروطه عثمان], 241.

³ Ibid. 249.

⁴ Kalın, *The Biographical Encyclopedia of Islamic Philosophy*, 13.

⁵ Meydanı, “Ziya Gökalp ve Türkçülük”.

In this article, firstly a short review of Mehmet Akif Ersoy's biography is presented. Secondly, *Âsım* which is considered as the main source of Mehmet Akif's idea in Turkish literature of the late Ottoman Empire is discussed in terms of characteristics of *Âsım*.

Finding and discussion

Mehmet Akif Ersoy was born on 20th December, 1873, in Istanbul's Sarıgözel district. However, because of his Albanian descent⁸ father's *imâmlık* (Duties of imam) in the Çanakkale's Bayramiç, his identity card was registered from the city.⁹ His father, Taher Efendi, was from Albania, and his mother, Emine Şerife, was from a family that moved to Tokat from Bukhara.¹⁰ Mehmet Akif learned Arabic from his father and took Farsi lessons in *Fatih Rüşdiyesi* ("Fatih middle school") and graduated as the first student of his class at school.¹¹ He continued his higher education at the *Mekteb-i Mülkiye* ("School of Political Science") in Istanbul and then at the *Mülkiye Baytar Mektebi* ("Civilian Veterinary School").¹² Mehmet Akif Ersoy became interested in poetry in his last two years of his education.¹³ Then, he mastered the French language and memorized Qur'an in six months.¹⁴ His first poem, titled *Dastûr* ("Order"), was composed on 3rd November 1892, however, his poem, *Kur'an'a Hitap* ("Address to the Qur'an"), was firstly published in *Mektep* magazine in 14 March 1895.¹⁵ After he was graduated from *Baytar Mektebi* in 1893, he was hired in *Umûr-ı Baytariye ve Islâh-ı Hayvanât Umum Müfettiş Muavinliği* ("The General Inspectorate of Animal Reform and Veterinary Affairs") and had worked there for twenty years.¹⁶ In 1914 he was hired at the *Teşkilât-ı Mahsusa* ("The Special Organization") and because of the job, he had the opportunity to travel to several places, such as Europe and the Hejaz among others, in the coming four years, and therefore he got acquainted with the people of the area, and also with non-Ottoman Muslims.¹⁷ During World War I (1914–1918) and the Turkish War of Independence (1919–1923), he was the representative of Burdur (city in the southwestern part of present-day Turkey) in the Grand National Assembly of Turkey, and wrote *İstiklâl mârsı* ("Independence March"). Nevertheless, after the Turkish War of Independence and the foundation of modern Turkey based on secular values, which were not in compliance with his ideal country¹⁸, he left Turkey and moved to Cairo, where he taught Turkish language and literature at the Cairo University.¹⁹ Until the end of his life, despite

⁶ Stewart-Robinson, *Intersections in Turkish Literature*, 130.

⁷ Dudoignon et al., *Intellectuals in the modern Islamic world*, 75.

⁸ Karpat, *The politicization of Islam*, 36.

⁹ Düzdağ and Okay, "Mehmed Âkif Ersoy".

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Dudoignon et al., *Intellectuals in the modern Islamic world*, 78.

¹³ Ersoy, *Safahat (Seğmeler)*, 15.

¹⁴ Öcal, *Tanıkların dilinden cumhuriyet dönemi din eğitimi ve dini hayat*, 1:210.

¹⁵ Sarı, *Mehmet Akif Şiirleri*, 11.

¹⁶ Tuğlacı, *Mehterhane'den bando'ya*, 232.

¹⁷ Günel, "Mehmet Akif'in pek bilinmeyen devlet görevleri." 207–209.

¹⁸ Karakılıç, *Sürgün, İntihal ve İntihar*, 49.

¹⁹ Turfan and Roberta, "Ersoy, Mehmed Âkif".

overtly taking side with the Caliphate, he did not attempt to denigrate Turkey's new secular government system.²⁰ Mehmet Akif Ersoy returned to Turkey at the end of his life, when Mustafa Kemal Atatürk (1881–1938) had already consolidated the country on its secular ideology. However, Atatürk was not concerned about his homecoming.²¹ Finally, he died in Istanbul in 1936 and was buried shortly thereafter in the Edirnekapi Martyr's Cemetery.²²

Mehmet Akif Ersoy's main work is *Safâhat* which is considered as one of the most famous and popular Ottoman literary heritage. The work includes seven books as follows: *Safâhat* ("Phases", 1911), *Süleymaniye Kürsüsünde* ("At the Süleymaniye's Pulpit," 1912), *Hakkın Sesleri* ("Voices of the Truth," 1913), *Fatih Kürsüsünde* ("At the Fatih's Pulpit," 1914), *Hatıralar* ("Memoirs", 1917), *Âsım* (1924), *Gölgeler* ("Shadows", 1933).

The sixth volume of *Safâhat*, *Âsım*, consists of 2293 verses in which 1206 of them had been published periodically between 1919 and 1924 in *Sebilürreşad*, and 1206 verses were later added when it was published as a book.²³ The work is written based on the narrative and dialogue about Ottoman social issues between four people through the lens of Âsım's life. Written in the language of the late Ottoman Empire, four main characters discuss the social problems of the time: Hocaşâde (The poet), Köse İmâm (Ali Şevki Hoca, a student of the poet's father), Âsım (Köse İmâm's son) and Emin (The poet's son) about in the Ottoman language in the late Ottoman Empire.

In his book, Mehmet Akif Ersoy narrates the story of Âsım's life, focusing on presenting an ideal generation for the people of the Ottoman Empire that can save the empire. Moreover, he entitles the name of Âsım for the story in order to associate with Âsım ibn Thabit, one of the *Ansar* ("The Helpers")²⁴ who participated in the Battle of Badr (A.D. 624) and who was endowed with a brave, determined and stand-up characteristics.²⁵ Bearing this in mind, Mehmet Akif was going to give an answer to the question "how would the Ottoman be saved?", which was posed by intellectuals at that time. He believed that the ultimate solution was the Islamist ideology, inspired by the Qur'an, reflected in Âsım's personalities trying to upbringing the same generation. To do so, he criticized, with the following words, the Ottoman Empire's *medreses* (educational institution) for not upbringing the generation in this way, as that there was no such scholars similar to the classical Muslim scholars:

*"Do you have a Medrese? It has already been destroyed!
Come on! Show me where Ibn Rushd²⁶ is?
Ibn Sina²⁷ ? Ghazali?
Where are a few 'Âlîms [scholars] like Sayyid Razi?"*²⁸

²⁰ Karakılıç, *Sürgün, İntihar ve İntihar*, 47.

²¹ Ibid. 50.

²² Turfan and Roberta, "Ersoy, Mehmed Âkif".

²³ Düzdağ, *Mehmet Akif Ersoy*, 129.

²⁴ Oflaz, *Mehmet Akif'in Âsım'ın Nesli Projesine*, 32.

²⁵ Yalçın, *Yerli ve milli bir gençlik*, 452.

²⁶ Also often Latinized as Averroes (1126–1198), Andalusian polymath.

²⁷ Also known as Avicenna (980–1037), who is often regarded as one the most significant Persian scholar of the Islamic Golden Age.

*“By Taking inspiration directly from the Qur’an
we should make the intellect of the age pronounce Islam
It is impossible through struggling in vain, it needs science!
I cannot see so much powerful, you show me!”²⁹*

For the generation inspired by the Qur’an, the *Vatan* (Homeland) was a non-negotiable priority. Furthermore, patriotism is an indispensable part of it as Ersoy considered it more important than life and properties in *İstiklal Marşı*, which the present-day Turkish national anthem, as follows:

*“May God take my life, my loved ones,
and all possessions from me if He will,
But let Him not deprive me of my one true homeland in the world.”³⁰*

In this regard, Akif’s Âsım takes part in the Battle of Çanakkale (The Gallipoli campaign, 1915–1916) and fights bravely for defending his homeland. Mehmet Akif compares this war with Badr in which fathers and their children and grandsons participated in the war.³¹ Mehmet Akif attributes the homeland’s salvation to Âsım’s Generation with the following verses:

*“The fortified buildings can be surrounded and can be destroyed
The creation of human cannot stop the Human determination
These chests as eternal borders of God.”*

*“It is my innovation creation. Do not let it be trampled.” He said
To me the generation of Âsım is the true generation:
Look, it did not allow its honor to be broken, it will not break.”³²*

It should be emphasized that the nation is an important term in Mehmet Akif’s work and it refers to the *Ummah* of Islam, notably to the Ottoman Muslims, rather than other Muslim communities, such as the Iranian Muslims. However, interestingly enough, despite being a Sunni Muslim, he showed interest towards other Muslims like the Iranian Shias as well.³³

²⁸ “Medresen var mı senin? Bence o çoktan yürüdü. / Hadi göster bakayım şimdi de İbnü’r-Rüşd’ü? / İbn-i Sinâ niye yok? Nerde Gazâlî görelim? / Hani Seyyid gibi, Râzî gibi üç beş âlim?” Ersoy, *Safahat Asım*, 86.

²⁹ “Doğrudan doğruya Kur’ân’dan alıp ilhâmı, / Asrın idrâkine söyletmeliyiz İslâm’ı. / Kuru da’vâ ile olmaz bu, fakat ilm ister; / Ben o kudrette adam görmüyorum, sen göster?” Ibid. 87.

³⁰ “Canı, cananı, bütün varımı alsın da hüda, / Etmesin tek vatanımdan beni dünyada cüda,” “İstiklal Marşı,”

https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=%C4%B0stiklal_Mar%C5%9F%C4%B1&oldid=9512756
11. Accessed: 16 April 2020.

³¹ Öteki Gündem, “Mehmet Akif Ersoy”.

³² “Sarılır, indirilir mevki-i müstahkemler, / Beşerin azmini tevkîf edemez sun’-ı beşer; / Bu göğüslerse Hudâ’nın ebedî serhaddi; / “O benim sun’-ı bedî’im, onu çiğnetme!” dedi. / Âsım’ın nesli... Diyordum ya... Nesilmiş gerçek: / İşte çiğnetmedi nâmûsunu, çiğnetmeyecek.” Ersoy, *Safahat Asım*, 100.

³³ Kuntay, *Mehmed Akif*, 88–89.

In fact, Mehmet Akif's approached Islam and the Islamic world as it is a nation, and the word *Kavmiyat* was described as equivalent in meaning to ethnicity. Hence, he considered *Kavmiyat* as the archenemy of *Milliyet* (nationality).³⁴ In this regard, he believed that the religious identity of a Muslim is superior to its ethnicity. He considered ethnic identity secondary comparing to religion.³⁵ In general, according to Akif, a nation was embodied in the form of a religion which was prevalent at that time and which was opposed to race and ethnicity. In this respect, when the Albanians declared to be an independent state in 1912, despite his Albanian origins, he composed as follows:

*"Your nationality was Islam, wasn't it? [...] What is ethnicity?
If you hugged and stood tight your nationhood
What does it mean to be Albanian? Does it have a place in the sharia?
It is nothing, just an impiety to insist on ethnicity.
Is an Arab superior to a Turk; a Laz to Circassian or a Kurd; Persian
to a Chinese?
Is there "ethnic elements" in Islam? What is it got to do with it!
Prophet curses the idea of ethnicity.
It is the biggest enemy of the spirit of the prophet
To be forgotten the name of the person who put it in Islam."*³⁶

Going back to the story where Âsım goes to the battle of Çannakkale for saving his *vatan*, he fights with praise of Saladin (1137–1193) and Kilij Arslan (1079–1107) as the leaders of Muslims.³⁷ Those verses which mention the names of the Muslims commanders who fought with Crusaders shows more emphasis on his understanding of religion as a primary factor in identity. In Akif's, and in his ideal generation too, otherness is referred to as belonging to other religious groups. However, in the case of the Christian nations of the Ottoman Empire, he took side with the idea of Ottomanism which meant to unite all communities of the empire.³⁸

Âsım returns from Çannakkale, and figures out that his fellow countrymen are not self-conscious enough about their identity. Then, he shows force to bring them in his way. Moreover, he thinks he could make a coup against *Bâbıâlî* (the Sublime Porte of the Ottoman Empire). In this part, Âsım is advised not to do so. He is recommended to follow Muhammad 'Abduh (1849–1905) in doing reforms. In the dialogue which was exchanged between 'Abduh³⁹ and Seyed Jamal al-Din al-Afghani (1838/1839–1897), Afghani asks from 'Abduh whether to start a revolution for saving the Islamic world as soon as possible and

³⁴ Ufak, "Islamist and Turkist conceptualization," 91–92.

³⁵ Gündoğdu, "Nation and nationalism," 127.

³⁶ "Hani milliyetin İslâm idi... Kavmiyet ne! / sarılıp sınırsız dursaydın a... Milliyetine / Arnavutluk ne demek? Var mı şeraitte yeri? / Küfür olur, başka değil, kavmini sürmek ileri / Arabın Türk'e; Lazın çerkez'e yahut Kürd'e; / Acemin Çinli'ye rüçhamı mı varmış? Nerede! / Müslümanlıkta anasır mı olurmuş? Ne gezer! / Fikr-i kavmiyeti tel'in ediyor Peygamber. / En büyük düşmanındır ruh-i nebi tefrikanın / Adı batsın onu İslâm'a sokan kaltabanın." Ersoy, *Safahat (Seçmeler)*, 143–144.

³⁷ Ibid. 102.

³⁸ Yapıcı, "Mehmet Akif Ersoy ve Asım'ın Nesli".

³⁹ Âkif obviously did take sides with 'Abduh's school.

use force in case it is needed. On the contrary, ‘Abduh rejects this kind of revolution and proposes doing reforms by educating young people. He claims that by sending educated individuals to all over the world they can make fundamental changes in the world.⁴⁰

In addition to the above-mentioned figures, Mehmet Akif emphasized on two basic characteristics of the generation of Âsım’s education: *Fazilet* (“livelihood and virtue”) and *Ma’rifet* (“the mystical knowledge”). *Fazilet* are essential values like religious, national and moral ones as the pre-condition of *Ma’rifet*.⁴¹ *Ma’rifet* refers to the act of gaining science from the West.⁴² In Âsım, Mehmet Akif explains his ideas about the concepts of *Ma’rifet* and *Fazilet* in the following verses:

*“Hurry up to achieve perfection in your education, yes you!
My son! it is necessary for nations’ ascension
To have two powers, Ma’rifet and Fazilet
First Ma’rifet will give the community felicity,
It carries all tools, then Fazilet will come
For allocation the highest goodness and spend
If Ma’rifet would not be in an Ummah
The availability of only Fazilat would not let it to ascend.”*⁴³

Since nations are different from each other, Akif believes that alongside with trying to achieve *Marifet*, they should avoid imitation. Every nation has its own characteristics, and if a nation imitates another nation, it would be impossible to take over its merits and achievements in their entirety. Hence, in his opinion, the path that every nation needs to take to progress should be unique.⁴⁴ Meanwhile, learning cases from the West, he differentiated civilization from culture and aspired to reach contemporary Western civilization by protecting its culture. Besides, he observes that wrong Westernization could be a probable risk for his nation. In this regard, he advises young individuals in the following words:

*“Only look at the science of the West
Along with those guys, work hard!
Learn the three hundred years of science which was lost immediately
That infinite spring which is leaking in the land of science [Europe],*

⁴⁰ Ersoy, *Safahat Asım*, 120–121.

⁴¹ Yılancı, “Current nationalist discourses,” 60.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ “Hadi tahsilini ikmale tez elden, hadi sen! / Çünkü milletlerin ikmalı için, evladım / Ma’rifet, bir de fazilet...İki kudret lazım. / Ma’rifet, ilkin, ahaliye saadet verecek / Bütün esbabı taşır; sonra fazilet gelerek / O birikmiş duran esbabı alır, memleketin / Hayr’ı i’lasına tahsis ile sarf etmek için / Ma’rifet kudreti olmazsa bir ümmette eğer / Tek faziletle teali edemez, za’fa düşer.” Ersoy, *Safahat Asım*, 120–121.

⁴⁴ Şimşek, *İdeal bir genç modeli*, 107.

*Both drink up and bring those impressive waters for homeland
revive the same fountains in here,
Use your brains, my son, and be a channel between us.*"⁴⁵

In addition to the above-mentioned main characteristics, Mehmet Akif considers other physical and moral values, like being merciful, being responsible, helpfulness, and so on, for the ideal generation. Eventually, in the end of the story, Âsım decides to go to Berlin to study the science and technology of the West for importing them to his country and to his nation.

After a few years, the second version of Âsım was expected to be written, and the characters were supposed to be Babanzade Ahmed Naim (1873–1934), Hüseyin Kazım Kadri (1870–1934), and Süleyman Nazif (1870–1927).⁴⁶ These characters would have had a dialogue according to their own philosophies.⁴⁷ However, the main character would be again Âsım in this epic which expected to be about the Turkish War of Independence, and Âsım hearing upon the occupation of their land decides to come back his country and participate in the war. Nevertheless, Mehmet Akif could never realize this work due to his impaired state of health.⁴⁸

Concluding Remarks

Mehmet Akif Ersoy's Âsım is considered as one of the Turkish literary masterpieces in which he describes his idea about the ideal generation which would save their homeland and assures the future of their nation. Additionally, the work includes famous poems like Çanakkale Şehitlerine ("For the Çanakkale Martyrs"), Zulmü alkışlayamam ("I Can't Applaud Tyranny") among others. In the story, Köse İmâm complains about collapsing families, moralities and education. Despite Köse İmâm's despair, Hocaşâde is hopeful, and he supports a generation like Âsım who never allows its honor to be sullied. For the generation, Akif lists some characteristics and having deep belief with emphasizing on the priority of the Ummah, especially those who were under the rule of the Ottoman Empire and kept their place from nationalism.

Moreover, for Mehmet Akif Ersoy, education is crucial in order to build the generation. Therefore, he emphasizes on two crucial concepts, *Fazilet* and *Ma'rifet*. He accepts the West scientific superiority over the Ottomans, however, he proposes to this generation to learn the science and technology of the West and adapt it to local circumstances. After the establishment of modern Turkey and making reforms based on Western values, which was against his belief, he left Turkey and his ideal generation did not come true. However, the work made its place in modern Turkey. Although he was supposed to write the second ver-

⁴⁵ "Sade Garb'ın yalnız ilmine dönsün yüzünüz. / O çocuklarla beraber gece gündüz didinin; / Giden üç yüz senelik ilmi sık elden edinin. / Fen diyarında sızan namütenahi pınarı, / Hem için, hem getirin yurda o nafi suları. / Aynı menbaları ihya için artık burada, / Kafanız işlesin oğlum, kanal olsun arada." Ersoy, *Safahat Âsım*, 120–121.

⁴⁶ Öztürk, *Millî şairimiz*, 70.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

sion of Âsım, however, he passed away. It seems likely that the work would have presented the image of a generation more compatible with modern Turkey.

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An overview of Mehmet Akif Ersoy's ideal generation in Âsım

There were four various leading ideas among the Ottoman intellectuals in the late Ottoman Empire: Ottomanism, Islamism, Turkism, and Westernism. As one of the intellectuals, Mehmet Akif Ersoy (1873–1936) emphasized on Islamism and rejected the other ideas based on his experience and thoughts. Hence, in light of his Islamist idea, he created his notable masterpiece *Âsım* in the sixth volume of *Safâhat*. It is written based on narrative and dialogue among four people including Hocazâde, Köse İmâm, Emin and Âsım in the Ottoman language. Mehmet Akif Ersoy tried to create an ideal generation and a model for the Ottoman's people based on the primary sources of Islam which could be applied in the modern world as well. Although the work was written almost a century ago, it has still been considered as an inspiring story among some Turks. This paper attempts to investigate *Âsım* epos as a one of masterpieces of Mehmet Akif Ersoy in terms of the main characteristics of the ideal generation which was expected to be a model for the future generation of Turks.

The national question, monarchism and the state in the political views of the Russian emigrant Sergei Prokopovich

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Sergei Prokopovich was a moderate socialist. In 1917, he held the post of the Minister of the Russian Provisional government coalition. In 1922, he immigrated first to Berlin and then to Prague. As a consequence, in Prague he organized the Economic Cabinet (1924–1939), a well-known scientific center dedicated to studying Soviet Russia. Considering Prokopovich political views, it is essential to pay attention to his article “Simple Thoughts” (“Prostye Mysli”).¹ Here he set a task to reply to the queries, addressed to him in private letters, about his views on “the united front of emigration”. He justified his position that had been developed as a result of rethinking and revaluation of the events “by the end of the eighth year of the Russian Revolution.” (*February, 1917-O. K.*)

Thus, in the work “Simple Thoughts” the attitude of Sergei Prokopovich to monarchism was totally explained. As Prokopovich wrote, “being an adult, I was consciously and always avoiding demagogic methods, I associated myself with such Russian public that actively fought against the Russian autocracy.”² He claimed that the revolution experience had convinced him of the terrible legacy left by the regime based on the disenfranchisement of the people. As Prokopovich pointed out, after the revolution there had arisen even less motives to defend the monarchy or return power to the people who did not know how to use it. In addition, while in exile, he was responded to this allegation that “the Bolshevik Regime causes even more injustice to the people, plus the destruction of any hope for the revival of the country and its economy.” Agreeing on this, Sergei Prokopovich wrote, “The disease that has confounded the people after the death of autocracy is terrible for the country. But who cures one disease by inoculating another one? Who strives to impose another reaction during the reaction period?”³

As opposed to a large part of Russian emigrants, Sergei Prokopovich did not idealize monarchy and did not approve of the restoration idea. In his opinion, antimonarchist views were adopted even by Russian peasants. He claimed: “I had to consider the peasant movement slogans of 1919–1922 not as a politician, but as an observer-analyst. None of the peasant movements of these years put forward the monarchy slogan.”⁴ He confirmed that “at this time the monarchists were only among such people who were suffering the loss of their personal privileges.” In the mid-1920s the situation was clear. Russia had experienced

¹ Prokopovich, Sergey N. “Simple Thoughts” *The last news*, September 5, 1925.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.

a severe form of revolutionary fever and then was looking for ways of economic and political revival. He wondered “whether it would find them through the peaceful displacement of harmful elements and replace them; or there would be new bloody explosions. It did not change the nature of the movement and the content of the process.”⁵ As Sergei Prokopovich emphasized, “this process is extremely diverse, highly deep” and “it cannot be eliminated with external ‘patches of salvation’.”⁶

According to Sergei Prokopovich, the alliance with the Russian monarchists was impossible. The monarchists, in his opinion, had forgotten their dignity, the dignity of Russia, and, finally, the will of their people, who not only refused to urge foreigners, but also stubbornly fought against them. In another article “To each his own” (*Kazhdomu svoe*) Prokopovich spoke out against the influence of monarchism in the emigration environment. Speaking of P.B. Struve’s statement that 85% of the Russian emigrants had been made up of monarchists, he wrote, “If Struve is right, it is a depressing sight. It means that the emigration has been blended with just those that have been to be eliminated.”⁷ Expressing his negative attitude to the monarchist camp, Sergei Prokopovich simultaneously indicated his understanding of the democratic elements significance and their actions in the resulting situation. He demanded, “No concerted actions with Russian monarchists.”⁸ Assessing the position of monarchism in the emigration, he stressed that “the monarchists themselves do not keep both feet on the ground, clinging to a fictional leader. How can we go hand in hand with them?”⁹ At the same time, analyzing the popular masses behavior in Russia, Sergei Prokopovich asked emigrants the following questions: “What is to be proud of? Of the dark people who has realized neither the meaning of the Fatherland defense, nor the role of the All Russian Constituent Assembly as the mind and will of the nation? Of such a legacy of the monarchy?” He replied:

“It is politically meaningless... Our path is opposite: taking advantages of relative spiritual freedom abroad, we must not back away in confusion, we must continue persistent work to prepare new progressive elements, as well as conditions that are capable to facilitate Russia’s entry into the family of cultural peoples in the near future.”

Identifying the political tasks of the emigrants, S. Prokopovich wondered, “How should the emigrants treat this process and can they assist it?” According to his opinion, the assistance could have been very essential, but before the emigration must have been cleared of the remnants of those ideologies that were characteristic of the Civil war. As S. Prokopovich noted:

“One of the main and the most harmful ideologies during this period is the view on the emigration as a material force capable of marching against the Soviet power. If

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Prokopovich, Sergey N. “To each his own”. *State Archives of the Russian Federation (GA RF)*. F. 6845, In. 1, File 209.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Ibid.

in 1918–20, it had a semblance, but by 1925, the reference to such essence of the emigration sounds like a clear and calculated quackery. In order to fulfill its true mission, the emigration must, first of all, mercilessly get rid of this lie about itself.”

He further submitted that this lie could become truth, if any of the powers, pursuing its own goals, wanted to engage in single combat with Russia and tried to use Russian emigrants as scouts or cannon fodder. S. Prokopovich expressed his attitude to this in a following way, “I personally do not agree to such a disgraceful role...”¹⁰ The war against the Fatherland with the help of foreigners, from his point of view, was a criminal thing and unacceptable for a patriot. However, it is believed, this statement was more a rhetorical device than a reflective dimension of his political position.

In assessing the situation of the emigration, S. Prokopovich wrote: “Without any material force the emigration has, however, a major spiritual force. Developing it and projecting its development on the recovering Russia, the emigration can play an important role.”¹¹ In his opinion, the new Russia, Asian in its past, having a thin layer of Europeanism only in the educated classes, needed at this stage to learn the American-European culture. To the question, “Where is the overthrow of the Soviet power?” according to S. Prokopovich, the answer was simple:

*“We will leave this important matter to the will of the Russian people. Once it had the strength to overthrow the hated autocracy; and even then the Russian emigrants only joined and helped the process that took place in factories, villages, and intellectual circles.”*¹²

However, S. Prokopovich regretted that the Russian emigrants did not have this direct and blood connection with movements inside. And this was based on deep-rooted causes, not only the vigilance of the authority. Hardly anyone wanted to understand them. Meanwhile, as he suggested, the emigration would be able to take its *proper* political place only with the growth of certain political aspirations within Russia. He stated that “to give the leader a name on a platter now, which the inner Russia is not at all eager to, means to create a theatrical sensation that is neither capable of raising the profile of the Russian name in Europe, nor influencing favorably on the country’s internal forces.”¹³ According to S. Prokopovich, leaders were born within a struggling people, not during foreign congresses that had no links to the actors in Russia. Mentioning that he had different paths to follow with the politicians far from Russia, but trying to speak on its behalf, he stressed:

*“We are absolutely sure that even Russia, which is now silent, will find the means to indicate them their place. ‘The United front’ is impossible with those, who try to dig up old graves and pass off the mummies, kept in them, as the healers of severe wounds of the Fatherland.”*¹⁴

¹⁰ Prokopovich, “To each his own”.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Ibid.

This position of S. Prokopovich was deeply contradictory. Assessing the balance of power in Russia correctly and understanding the illusory intentions of the emigration politicians to return it to normal, he, however, did not go beyond the declarations of “the will of the Russian people”. Although it is obvious that in the conditions of a strict and authoritarian regime that resorted to mass repression, there could be no question of the free will of people. The intransigence to ideological opponents and to other political trends (whether monarchists or far-left politics) objectively hindered the consolidation of the emigration forces. The suggestions of arranging the Europeanization of the Bolshevik regime can also be considered extremely amorphous. It could hardly have happened both in the conditions of the constant “military alerts” of the second half of the 1920s and early 1930s, and in his striving to control the relations with foreign countries.

Reflecting on the Russian democracy goals and objectives, he suggested focusing on the European line of development, advocated for overcoming the political ignorance of the popular masses, and was a supporter of parliamentary democracy. Assessing its significance, he wrote: “Anywhere and everywhere, the democracy progressive elements are fighting on two fronts: against the Communists, who are trying to destroy the state link in all countries, and against the monarchists, who are trying to return Europe to the Bourbons times.”¹⁵ Prokopovich believed that Russian democracy, that was weaker than the much-experienced Western one, should be guided by the line of European democracy. Against this background, Prokopovich’s assessment of Russian democracy forces state was quite remarkable, as well as its support among the masses, and the general situation in which it was situated. He noted: “There are very few of us here abroad. But there are many, many of us in Russia”. He suggested relying on the experience of Russian peasants and workers, who, in his opinion, “deal with a difficult, bloody and suffering experience. This experience is our strength. [...] We believe, our ear is listening well to the sounds of the Russian land [...] all our hopes are there, in Russia, and not here abroad.”¹⁶ He assumed that the future, the new Russia would turn in Europe’s favor, not Asia. However, Russian democracy had certain practical tasks in emigration such as “to forge the ideology of the new democratic Russia”, “to strive to unite, first, with the democracy cultural layer in Russia, and second, to pave the way for the union of Russian democracy with the West ones.”¹⁷ It should be noted that this position was largely characteristic of the emigrant Republican Democratic camp as a whole.

S. Prokopovich’s article “*The ability of the masses to democracy*”¹⁸, posthumously published in 1956, allows us to trace the author’s views on democracy in its development from primitive to more advanced forms. He considered the following aspects: 1. Primitive democracies, 2. The problem of the popular masses ability to political activity, 3. The growth of political consciousness and the popular masses will in Western Europe, 4. Dictatorship in politically underdeveloped countries. According to S. Prokopovich, each country had its own way of political national and historical development. First of all, he was interested not in the principle of democracy itself, which was unchangeable in any conditions, but in the

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Prokopovich, Sergey N. *The ability of the masses to democracy. A Collection of Papers. Posthumous edition*. Paris. 1956, 9–51.

political institution of democracy in its national historical development. In particular, he wrote that “for the adoption of democratic forms of government the popular masses must currently have political knowledge and abilities acquired only during a long life in society and the State.”¹⁹ He believed that

*“the democratization of the political, economic and cultural system of society requires, first of all, a great political and cultural activity of the popular masses. It implies the awakening of their spiritual interests and abilities to political and public life and active participation in it as well as the formation of the national will to political self-governance.”*²⁰

In the view of S. N. Prokopovich, the private sector activity of society members was the closest thing to socio-political activity. He claimed that “along with the culture growth of the popular mass, its socio-economic and political activity also increases.” He believed that in modern societies, in addition to passive people, it was always possible to find a large number of those who had enterprise and took an increasing part in the creation of social and spiritual life. As a result, the political structure of a modern society could not be represented as the outdated theory of “heroes and crowd”.

S. Prokopovich's position was that the cultural and political development of the popular masses made it possible to democratize the modern state; in the masses it awakened the capacity for political creativity and allowed to build all the state activities on democratic principles, in particular, on self-governance and elective principle. As factors of the popular masses political growth he singled out the public education development, the population participation in cooperative and professional public self-governance bodies, as well as membership in political parties as schools of political thought that taught the masses to understand the difference between unattainable beautiful utopias and real politics. The main task of democracy, according to S. Prokopovich, was to overcome the political ignorance of the popular masses, to fight their political impressionability and illusions. He estimated that this process was taking place in the parliamentary democracies of Europe and America. From his point of view, the Parliament discussion of all political life issues of the country by people, possessing great political knowledge and experience, had an educational political influence on the whole bulk of voters. Prokopovich believed that the equality of political rights did not give people equal abilities and knowledge: if the popular masses knew what was ultimately necessary for their good, at the same time they did not always realize what means could be used to achieve these goals. However, according to S. Prokopovich, “governmental machine, as it is currently organized in parliamentary countries, is hardly suitable for solving complex economic, social and cultural problems.”²¹

Speaking about the process of political and cultural development in underdeveloped countries, he mentioned such a feature as their intention to preserve public institutions and achieved development degree. Their development was mainly limited to the assimilation of

¹⁹ Ibid. 12.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Ibid. 37.

foreign achievements, which did not allow them to make the transition to a higher stage of political development. As S. Prokopovich pointed out,

*“in underdeveloped countries instead of continuous progressive political evolution we find a constant succession of periods of stagnation and forced leaps forward, revolutions, representatives of Ivan the Terrible and Peter the Great, Lenin and Stalin, military and popular dictatorships. In underdeveloped states the progressive transformations, which the population does not realize and does not want, are often caused by the intention of the authorities for national independence as the first condition for national cultural development.”*²²

The main reason for the distinction between Western democracy in advanced countries and Eastern democracy in underdeveloped ones lied in the political role of the vocal minority. S. Prokopovich drew special attention to the fact that in socio-political life the ways of establishing democracy were important, not only their final goals, not only the motives that determined them: “Violent measures have a demoralizing effect both on the people, teaching it to violence and sycophancy, and on the people’s dictatorship, teaching it to use violence as the easiest way to dominate.”²³

Speaking about S. Prokopovich’s assessment of the Institute for Democracy, it becomes clear that the Western way of society and state development was preferable for him. Russia, on the other hand, was considered as an Eastern country, but he wanted for it the democratic transformations that would allow it to embark on the Western path of development. In this area his views largely coincided with the views of P. Milyukov. Both of them defined a possible path of Russia development as the Western one. “Westernism” can be seen in his numerous prognoses about the future development of the Russian countryside. As one of the memoirists D. Lutokhin recalled, S. Prokopovich had been very much engaged in studying the economy of the Russian countryside and argued that “a peasant should be given not only the land, but the capital, it is necessary to provide him with perfect technical tools, which will not be possible to implement without large financial transactions with the participation of America.”²⁴ However, the future amended the political assessments of democracy that had been expressed by S. Prokopovich. It appeared that the pattern “Western democracy (advanced states) – Eastern despotism (underdeveloped states)” was not always applicable to the interpretation of the political history of Europe in the 20th century, which had been witnessed by the Russian economist.

In the system of S. Prokopovich’s political views an important place was occupied by the assessment of the October revolution. He believed that in order to evaluate this phenomenon, it was necessary, first of all, to understand it as a historical event, “as a necessary or destructive, but inevitable link in the history of the Russian people.”²⁵ In his opinion, the first question that the researcher of October, 1917, was curious about was: “How and why had for the peasant Russia, which had been suffering primarily from the primitive nature of agriculture and agricultural resettlement, the main task become to fight the capitalist sys-

²² Ibid. 44.

²³ Ibid. 49.

²⁴ Almanac Past. Paris: Atheneum, 1986. T. 22. P. 55.

²⁵ Prokopovich, Sergey N. Ten years of experience. *Russian economic digest* no.11 (1927): 5–15.

tem, which was just beginning to develop in the country?” Referring to the essence of this phenomenon, he believed that “the problem of communism was not a natural stage on the way of economic and cultural growth of the Russian people in the first quarter of the 20th century. This phenomenon is undoubtedly of a negative nature, not organically connected with the process of economic and social development of Russian democracy.”²⁶ According to S. Prokopovich, the past 10 years in Russia showed that the idea of communism was not viable. He believed that “the Russian experience has shown that it is not a creative idea of the future, but an empty romantic dream...”²⁷ In general, according to S. Prokopovich, a plurality of factors determined the current situation in Russia, he wanted that “the transition to a state of law would be made by the forces of the Russian people themselves and in line with the ideals and experience of modern democracy.”²⁸

The values associated with the concept of “nation” played an important role in the liberal political theory of the emigration. An important place was taken by the analysis of national issues and movements in the works of S. Prokopovich as well. In his article “On the economic foundations of the national question” he wrote:

*“The national movements played a very important role in the October revolution, disintegrating the army at the front and eroding the power of the Provisional Government in the rear. Obviously, no matter how the power, that will govern the Russian state, will be named and how this state itself will be named, the national issues and movements will play a very significant, perhaps decisive role in its fate.”*²⁹

It is no accident that when assessing S. Prokopovich’s views on the national issue, the newspaper “Rul”, that was influential in the emigration, emphasized his opinion that “it is better to have a small state, but with a single state language, than a multilingual federation that is doomed to an imminent collapse.” For S. Prokopovich when examining national issues and movements, a historical approach was required, and he argued that “where we are dealing with historical development, the economic aspect inevitably occupies a central position.”³⁰ In his opinion, at different stages of economic development the content, volume and forms of national existence and national struggle were different, so he believed that with the change in the economic structure of society its national life would also change. Highlighting the characteristic features of the national life at various stages of economic growth of society, S. Prokopovich used the so-called “classical scheme”³¹ of society development. He argued that national life appeared only at the stage of the urban life development, and then the material basis for the modern state was already being created at the stage of capitalism development with the national market and national economy development. At the same time, modern political nations were formed simultaneously with the state. Ethnic

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Ibid. 9.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Prokopovich Sergey N. On the economic foundations of the national question. *Russian economic digest*, no.9 (1927): 5–50.

³⁰ Ibid. 23.

³¹ 1 stage – primitive tribes, 2 – closed household, 3 – urban economy, 4 – capitalist (or national) economy.

nationalities gave way to the new, much more powerful national formations, which were based not on a race and language, but, above all, economic links that united them. S. Prokopovich believed that the state, for the better development of the national economy, wanted to destroy national boundaries on its territory and erase existing national differences in order to “unite all the ethnic groups”, living on its territory.³² Therefore, every modern cultural European or American nation was a conglomerate of many ethnic nationalities, merged into the highest degree of unity – the modern national state. The United States were the most spectacular example for him. He believed that the origin of modern nations was not based on coercion, but on economic, political, and social interests:

“The formation of a national economy on a large territory inhabited by several tens of millions of people makes special demands on the political and administrative structure, on the development of public relations, and on the collective psychology of the popular masses.”

Due to this, the development of capitalist economy along with the formation of a modern state created a political nation.³³

Speaking about the political role of the state in the national formation, S. Prokopovich stressed that in order to overcome underdevelopment of the pre-capitalist forms of economy and clear the way for the new economic principles penetration into various segments of the population, it was predominant to ensure the targeted state intervention. He noted that the issue of state and national formation was a very complex process in which the economic aspect played a decisive role:

*“In the struggle for national interests, the idea of nationality is born. Under favorable conditions, the movement acquires a political character and leads to the political liberation of ethnic nationality... And with the development of capitalist relations and the national market, the character of the national movement changes radically.”*³⁴

In his opinion, the state independence required, first of all, a developed economy, and if this was not the case, then the political independence became a fiction. Indeed, for S. Prokopovich the economic factor was the dominant force in the national development:

*“The economic aspect confirms the nation intention for political self-determination within ethnic bounds, the attempt to join territories inhabited by other, less economically developed nations. Freed from political dependence, young nationalities can easily fall into economic dependence, no less serious. Their trouble is that their political life is deprived of the economic foundation because of their economic backwardness.”*³⁵

³² Prokopovich, On the economic foundations of the national question, 37.

³³ Ibid. 42.

³⁴ Ibid. 45.

³⁵ Ibid. 47.

Referring to the national problems of Russia, he argued that the solution of the national question was difficult, because Russia had been devastated by the war and the revolution, as well as the Communists management. Considering the prospects for Russia's development, S. Prokopovich believed that, with the backwardness of Russian industry, the main national task was to preserve the country's political independence. He stressed that "the great difference in the economic structure of different nationalities in Russia makes it clear why we find a different form of national ideology and patriotism in Russians than in Ukrainians and Belarusians." He explained this by the difference of each nationality in the economic stages of development. For the future economic development of Russia, according to Prokopovich, it was necessary to provide the unity of law and the state language, to create legal order and railways. Russia should go not through political separation, but through the resolution of national conflicts. This path consisted in overcoming economic, social and cultural backwardness, in developing the national economy and productivity. Thus, for the emergence, existence and development of a modern democratic state, it was necessary to take into account a number of conditions: the existence of a political culture of the nation, economic activity, as well as the state regulatory role in this process.

S. Prokopovich's political views were demonstrated in his report at a meeting of foreign groups of the Constitutional Democratic Party on July 24, 1922.³⁶ He expressed theoretical views on the reasons for the need to create such a political organization as "The Republican Democratic Union". He believed that the flush of Bolshevism that had hit the country by the end of 1917, and especially in 1918–1919, would disappear, and Russia would return to a healthy state. As he believed, Bolshevism had been overcome psychologically. As a result, a new situation emerged. S. Prokopovich argued that the opinion that the old Russia had died and its new life had begun in February, 1917, was incorrect. Russia was alive and the starting point of development would be the Bolshevik coup. He believed that the decisive role in this case belonged to the peasantry, which had changed a lot. It had grown, its horizons had expanded very much, the former abjection had disappeared and people respected themselves. The peasants were aware that they were independent "at home" and this was the "first plus" of everything that had been experienced. The second one was the creation of local authorities (volispolkoms), which were volost zemstvos in fact. The "third plus" was the Red army that was full of national interests, which was especially valuable for the future formation of Russia. These were the three main factors of Russia's future structure. As for the workers, S. Prokopovich believed that this class, due to its privileged position and its peculiar Praetorian psychology, was useless for creating a new state order.

According to S. Prokopovich, Russia needed spiritual centers, which could not be currently created because of the strict control of the All-Russian Extraordinary Commission (GPU). Therefore, it was necessary to establish such spiritual centers abroad, but not for the emigration interests, but for the new Russia "establishment". These centers were to be guided by three directives. First, it was necessary to desist from the monarchy restoration and revenge, second, it was important to renounce socialism, and third, the spiritual centers must not think themselves the representatives of the Russian people and must not demand

³⁶ Protocol of the meeting of the Paris Democratic group of the Party of People's Freedom of July 24, 1922. In minutes of the central committee and foreign groups of the Constitutional Democratic Party, 27. Vol. 6. Moscow: ROSSPAN, 1999.

any power. In his opinion, the role of the spiritual centers should consist only “in maintaining the new growing movement in Russia.”

Thus, in his political views, S. Prokopovich was a staunch advocate of democracy, political freedom, and the republican democratic regime. This is attested, first of all, by his categorical refusal to compromise with the monarchists, as well as his strict position of the importance of democratic elements in the life of society. He left the question of overthrowing the Soviet power to the “will of the Russian people” and not to the emigration actions and, moreover, intervention, which was very contradictory, since he realized, on the one hand, the illusory intentions of prominent emigrants, and, on the other hand, the impossibility of implementing the “will of the people” in the USSR in the 1930s under a totalitarian regime.

S. Prokopovich advocated a historical approach while examining the national issues, considered the economic factor to be the dominant factor of national development, and proposed to focus on the European line of development of a parliamentary democracy. He defended his vision of socialism in his public and political activities. In different years of life in exile, the degree of “politics” occupation of S. Prokopovich was different. In general, in the political arena of the emigration his place can be defined as “left of center”. His political position, expressed on such issues as the meaning of democracy, the definition of the place and the role of the emigration, his point of view on the national issue and the attitude to Soviet Russia, undoubtedly was “left-center”.

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The national question, monarchism and the state in the political views of the Russian emigrant Sergei Prokopovich

Sergei Prokopovich was a moderate socialist and he held the post of minister of the coalition Provisional Government of Russia in 1917. In 1922 he was obliged to emigrate first to Berlin, and then to Prague. In Prague, he organized the Economic Cabinet (1924–1939), a well-known scientific center for the study of Soviet Russia.

Unlike a significant part of the Russian emigration, Sergei Prokopovich did not idealize the monarchy and did not approve of the idea of restoration. He posed the question of overthrowing Soviet power to the "will of the Russian people", but not to acts of emigration and moreover the intervention. Such position was very controversial, since he understood, on the one hand, the illusory intentions of prominent emigrants, and, on the other hand, the impossibility of realizing the "will of the people", in the USSR in the 1930s under the circumstances of the totalitarian regime.

Reflecting on the goals and objectives of Russian democracy, he proposed orienting himself towards the European line of development, advocated overcoming the political ignorance of the masses, and was a supporter of parliamentary democracy.

Analyzing the role of the state in the nation-building process, Sergei Prokopovich pointed out generally the economic factor as the dominant of national progress. First of all, Prokopovich advocated a historical approach to the study of national issues, when the development of the capitalist economy simultaneously with the formation of the state created a political nation (for instance in the USA). As for the independence of the state, firstly, the developed and independent economy was needed, because if it is not present, then political independence becomes a fiction. Considering Russian case, he believed that the resolution of the national question was very difficult because the country was devastated by the Civil war and the revolution, but it was extremely necessary for the future development of Russia to retain the unity of the state language and legal order, the suitable development of industry and railways too.

According to his political views, Sergei Prokopovich was a supporter of democracy, political freedom, and a social state. Thus, it can be attributed to the left-centrist wing of the traditional political spectrum.

Torn between Two Nations – Aspects of Loyalty in the case of Hungarian Immigrants in the United States in 1917–1919*

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Introduction

Immigration from the territory of Austria-Hungary in the United States had been at its peak in the decade before World War One. Approximately 1.5 million Hungarians were living in the US in the years preceding the Great War – some of whom were temporary immigrant labor, but the majority was seeking permanent stay or even citizenship.¹ When the war broke out, thousands of Hungarians indicated their intention to travel home and enlist in the Hungarian army, other tens of thousands stayed in the US but attempted to help by sending money or supplies to the troops fighting in the frontlines. Soon, questions started to arise about where the loyalty of these ‘hyphenated’² immigrants’ lied.

After the US entered the war in April, 1917, immigrants from Austria-Hungary were categorized as ‘enemy aliens’ under the Selective Service Act. However, roughly 3000 of them ended up serving in the American Military.³ Although Hungarian communities were not targeted with xenophobic attacks as much as their German counterparts, but they definitely faced atrocities for being ‘enemy aliens’.

This paper aims to look into some of the ways Hungarian immigrants experienced the war, and provide an overview of the author’s extensive research based on a variety of primary and secondary resource material from both Hungarian and American archives and libraries. The wide-range social and military historical investigation is aimed at various aspects of the immigrant experience during the war, including exploring how Hungarian communities were affected by war propaganda conducted by both the American and the Austro-Hungarian governments, revealing how Hungarian-Americans discussed news from the frontlines, and to what extent did Hungarian immigrants share the burden of the American war effort. Some of the questions to be answered are: How did they react to certain events? How did they see the role of Austria and Germany in the war? What did they think about the Hungarian, and the American involvement in the Great War? For whom were

* The author’s research is supported by the grant EFOP-3.6.1-16-2016-00001 (“Complex improvement of research capacities and services at Eszterházy Károly University”).

¹ Puskás, *Ties*, 21.

² Immigrants with multiple national identities such as Italian-Americans or Hungarian-Americans were often referred to as “hyphenated Americans” at the time, even by President Woodrow Wilson himself. See Vought, *The Bully Pulpit*, 94–120.

³ Vida, *Hungarian Americans*, 311.

they “rooting”? As part of the research, this paper incorporates some of the results based on two main source groups: primary source records from American archives, and contemporary, predominantly American newspaper articles. Additionally, relevant works of secondary literature and other publications are also explored and utilized.

Hungarian Communities and the Great War – A Historical Perspective

Life was made hard for Hungarian Americans by the outbreak of the First World War. Although the United States managed to secure its neutrality during the first years of the war, the debts of the Entente, the protracted war efforts, and the ongoing atrocities conducted by German espionage and the unrestricted submarine warfare drifted the country further towards belligerence. Even while neutral, the US sold most of its military products to Entente powers. The factories manufacturing these products employed numerous Hungarian immigrants and guest workers. The Austro-Hungarian Government announced via the Hungarian-American press that any Hungarian citizen working in American ordnance factories commits treason and should be subject to prosecution upon returning home, with a possible 10 to 20 years prison sentence or even with capital punishment.⁴ The situation was accurately described by a Hungarian factory worker in South Bethlehem, Pennsylvania.

“For weeks now the Austrians working here have been troubled by reports scattered broadcast that if they did not stop making shells for the allies, they would be put in prison and, in some cases, be executed as traitors if ever they dared return to their country!”⁵

Owing to the threats made by the Austro-Hungarian Government, many Hungarians living in the US filed their applications for citizenship.⁶ This, of course, did not mean that they were unsympathetic to the cause of their homeland. There were several ways of helping those still at home. Hungarian-American civil societies, aid organizations, and fraternal insurance associations did a lot of work to make it possible for immigrants to help the war efforts of the Old Country: they organized charity events and other fundraisers, and used the collected money to purchase medical equipment, which they then sent to the Hungarian regiments fighting on the fronts via the Red Cross. Immigrants also had several opportunities to buy Hungarian war bonds, which seemed rather peculiar given the fact that many Hungarians purchased American war bonds as well. Besides material aid, they considered spiritual support equally important. They organized regular mass prayers in Hungarian churches where they prayed for military victories of Hungarian regiments, the wellbeing of the soldiers, and the persistence of those in the hinterland. These acts of patriotism towards their original home country raised eyebrows among their American coworkers, neighbors, and other acquaintances, and understandably so.

Incidents such as the infamous Dumba affair did not help their situation. The Dumba affair was a major scandal in the fall of 1915, involving Konstantin Theodore Dumba,

⁴ See Szántó, *Magyarok Amerikában*.

⁵ *The Day Book*, September 14, 1915.

⁶ Szántó, *Magyarok Amerikában*, 63.

Austro-Hungarian Ambassador to the United States. In a letter he had sent to his government, Dumba admitted to being part of a scheme that attempted to use strikes and sabotage by immigrant workers to keep American companies from fulfilling their contracts with Allied states.⁷ In the documents found by the British Royal Navy, ambassador Dumba had proposed a plan to “disorganize the manufacture of munitions of war” in the United States. As a part of this scheme, Dumba also suggested funding a number of foreign-language newspapers published in America to influence Hungarian laborers. The Wilson administration deemed this scheme a particularly dangerous attempt to take advantage of the heterogeneous population of the USA.⁸ This infamous affair shed an ill light at Hungarian Americans, who, according to newspapers of the time, sought to dissociate themselves from Dumba. But other Austro-Hungarian nationals jumped at the opportunity to take advantage of the situation and use Dumba’s case to express their loyalty to America. The Slovaks for example, did not hesitate to send letters to major newspapers, deeming Austria-Hungary an oppressive state and denouncing the activities of Ambassador Dumba.⁹ But also, Hungarians showcased relief when the ambassador was recalled, both Hungarian and Austrian immigrants living in the city of South Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, for example, were celebrating together in the streets.¹⁰

There were other incidents apart from the Dumba case, that could cast shadows over the peaceful coexistence of Hungarian immigrants and Americans. In a similar event, American Secret Service agents seized several documents (mostly correspondence) from German and Austro-Hungarian officials, that all proved schemes aimed at sabotaging American factories and shipyards. These plots included, apart from the “usual” plans to buy American newspapers and publish propaganda, bribery of politicians, starting of strikes, and the most dangerous ones, committing acts of industrial sabotage.

In this political environment, one can only imagine how hard it could be for Hungarian immigrants to balance between allegiances to “the Old Country and the New”. One way to see how these communities thought about the war is to review the contemporary Hungarian-American press. In this part of the research, the author reviewed two major Hungarian-language newspapers (Hungarian American People’s Voice, the largest daily, and Hungarian Courier, the largest weekly), and several minor, regional ones from the time period of the war.¹¹ The findings of this research will be subject to another full academic paper. Here, due to the understandable restrictions, I will only present some of the findings.

⁷ Puskás, *Ties*, 180.

⁸ MacDonnell, *Insidious Foes*, 18.

⁹ *New York Tribune*, (NY) September 16, 1915; or *The Bridgeport Evening Farmer*, (CT) September 20, 1915.

¹⁰ *The Day Book* (IL), September 14, 1915.

¹¹ As part of the research, the following newspapers were inspected: *Amerikai Magyar Népszava* (1914–1919), *Magyar Híradó* (1917–1919), *Amerikai Magyar Reformátusok Lapja* (1914–1916), *Johnstowni Híradó* (1914–1919), *Magyar Hírnök* (1915), *Magyar Világ* (1914–1919), *Verhovayak Lapja* (1918). Based on these, an overall picture could be drawn about the wartime communication of the Hungarian-American press, but it cannot be stated that it reflects the opinion of the complete Hungarian immigrant community in America. I would like to thank Eszter Rakita for all the help she provided in processing the vast amount of written material.

After the announcement of the American belligerence, the Hungarian-American press rushed to calm its reader base and assure them that their freedom and possessions were not threatened by the federal government. Several papers posted public service announcements stating “no foreigners living in the United States should fear for their personal freedom as long as they behave according to the laws of the country.”¹²

The majority of the Hungarian-American press reviewed in this research showed a rather ambiguous approach to the war. This ambiguity manifested in supporting the Hungarian regiments of the Austro-Hungarian army, while also being supportive of the American troops after the summer of 1917. Most of the articles reporting on the war mention the Hungarian armies that fought against Serbia, Russia, France, and after 1915, Italy, in a positive context, cheering for their wins and mourning over their losses. These texts show that the Hungarian community in America never lost its patriotic feelings for their homeland. But that does not mean they were not loyal to their new home, the United States. When America entered the war in April, 1917, Hungarian-Americans’ loyalty faced a dire conflict: the US took the side of the Entente, and although Washington did not officially declare war on Austria-Hungary until December 7, 1917, it was crystal clear that the armies of the two countries were going to meet on the battlefield sooner than later. Be that as it may, the Hungarian-American press did not hesitate to support the American cause in the war from the first time Wilson announced the belligerence. The continuous investigation into the Hungarian language newspapers published in the US during the war showed no articles that spoke against, or criticized to any extent, the actions of the federal government so far. A frequently appearing opinion was a support for a Hungarian independence movement seeking the bisection of Austria-Hungary, blaming the whole war on Emperors Franz Joseph and Wilhelm II, and regularly citing Hungarian Prime Minister István Tisza’s memorandum on July 1, 1914, in which he strongly opposed the ultimatum sent to Serbia, which eventually led to the outbreak of the World War. Tisza’s opinion was used as evidence to the Hungarian unwillingness to enter the war, and to prove that independence from Austria was necessary. At the same time, President Wilson was usually portrayed as a potential patron of Hungarian independence.

<i>Most frequently used phrases used to describe troops</i>	
<i>Hungarian soldiers</i>	<i>American soldiers</i>
“our boys”	“our people”
“glorious”	“our men”
“brave”	“brave”
“gallant”	“heroic”
“honorable”	“unstoppable”

Figure 1: Most frequently used phrases collected from Hungarian-American newspapers

¹² *Amerikai Magyar Népszava* (American Hungarian People’s Voice), April 6, 1917.

As the table shows, they discussed both the Hungarian and the American soldiers with praises. They considered both armies their own, as they used the first person plural possessive pronoun “our” in both cases, very frequently. Also, both armies were portrayed as gallant, brave warriors who lay down their lives every day to battle tyranny and to champion freedom and independence – a fight that Hungarians and Americans both knew very well from their history. “Unstoppable” and “undefeatable” were words associated with the American army, but not the Hungarian one, and their usage became even more recurring as the war progressed and the Entente powers came closer to victory. The word “brave” appeared very frequently in connection with both armies. Reports on Hungarian regiments clashing with American troops are usually missing from the examined newspapers despite the fact that the AEF fought Austria-Hungary on both the Western and, to a smaller extent at the end of the war, the Italian Front.¹³

The opinion articles in every publication have something in common: they all agree that the common enemy of both Hungarians and Americans were Germany and Austria. Most of these newspapers deemed the war pointless, and blamed Germany and Austria for forcing Hungary (or more specifically, the Hungarian part of Austria-Hungary) to fight in this pointless war. The overall opinion was that Hungary was a victim of German imperialism, and the Pan-German plans were “watered with Hungarian blood”. So it seems more than obvious from their point of view to support the American troops to defeat Germany and Austria, so Hungary may be freed from her ties to the Austrian Emperor.

Hungarian Immigrants in the Draft Registration of 1917

Another interesting aspect of the Hungarian immigrant experience during the war is the 1917 draft registration. This part of the research focuses on the data from the Draft Registration Cards filled out by Hungarian immigrant men between the age of 18 and 45. Some historical background should be provided to see how this record group was created and how Hungarian “enemy aliens” became involved.

The US entry to the First World War brought about something that a lot of Americans did not support: compulsory military service. This was a real threat a lot of immigrants experienced in their countries of origin – some of whom chose immigration to the United States specifically to avoid being conscripted. To be able to successfully register all eligible men and create a large standing army, the Selective Service Act was issued in May, 1917. The act gave power to the federal government to draft recruits into the army, it defined who the subjects of draft registration were, how many were needed, and every other measure of the organization of the new army. The Selective Service System took into account the European (namely, French and German) military experiences of World War One. Accordingly, the goal was to avoid problems like labor shortage in the factories and on the fields, which caused serious economic problems in European countries, so they were made to withdraw troops of high combat value from the fronts to replace labor force. To prevent

¹³ On the Italian Front, only one American regiment, the 332th Infantry Regiment was deployed. For more on this see Dalessandro, *Lions*.

problems like that, the Selective Service System was designed to have a fair quota system to divide registrants reasonably.¹⁴

Eventually, a total of 23,908,576 men were registered according to the Selective Service System. According to Nancy Gentile Ford, less than 10 percent of them, 2,758,542 men were drafted into the armed forces, which took up 67% of the 3,500,000 men in military service during the First World War.¹⁵ There are slightly different figures in the *Encyclopedia of War & American Society*, edited by Peter Karsten. According to the *Encyclopedia*, the strength of the American Army grew from the 1916 headcount of 179,376 men to 3,685,000 during the 18 months of the American participation in the war. Of that, 2,810,296 men were drafted through the Selective Service System.¹⁶

After reviewing international law, immigrants were categorized into four major groups by the Selective Service Act. The groups were: diplomatic, declarant, non-declarant, and enemy aliens. Alien diplomats were exempted from the draft since technically they were not residents of the United States. Declarant aliens included immigrants who had filed their first papers of intention to become American citizens. These people were waiting to fulfill their five years of residency to complete the naturalization process. Declarant immigrants from friendly and allied nations were made eligible for the draft. The main idea was that they received the benefits of their newly adopted country, so, therefore, they should share the nation's burdens. Non-declarant aliens were those who did not file papers to sign their declaration to become American citizens. This group was made transitory, and could not be drafted due to their temporary status. The goal was to protect American citizens living in other countries under temporary resident status, so they would not be subjects for drafting into foreign armies. The category of enemy aliens included both declarant and non-declarant immigrants from enemy nations. By the report of a provost marshal general, enemy aliens were considered to be unfit to serve since they would be put in a position of potentially fighting against their own countrymen. Hungarian immigrants were, by definition, automatically considered enemy aliens, which made it possible to them to avoid being drafted by simply claiming exemption based on their enemy alien status.

The enemy alien category was without doubt the most interesting because it included various ranges of people who desired to join the American army for various reasons. The most frequent, and most obvious reason was that they wanted to fight the oppressors of their homelands. This included many Poles, Czechs, Serbs, Slovaks, etc. whose homelands were in German, Austro-Hungarian, Russian, or Turkish territories. These men usually left their countries due to the oppression they had to suffer, and when the United States entered the war, they saw an opportunity to fight back and try to free their homelands from under the rule of European monarchs. By this line of thought, Hungarians could be considered one of the oppressors since they were one of the ruling nations in Austria-Hungary, while having restricted rights for other nations of minority such as Slovaks, Croatians, Romanians, etc. This is only partly true, of course, the situation was more complicated than that. Many of the patriotic Hungarians were not satisfied with the situation of Hungary and neither did they forgot the devastating retaliation for the 1848–1849 War of Independence by Franz Joseph. Many Hungarians considered it unacceptable to “shake the bloody hands” of

¹⁴ Ford, *Americans All*, 52.

¹⁵ Ibid. 51–52.

¹⁶ Karsten (ed.), *Encyclopedia*, 774.

the emperor who “issued the murder of so many” of their fellow countrymen. A great many of those who left the country and immigrated to the USA were thinking that way.

As a result, many Hungarians wanted to register to the draft as volunteers, or already volunteered before 1917. But according to the Selective Service Act, they too were considered enemy aliens. The case was resolved by an extension to the Act, which ruled that enemy aliens could not be forced to fight in the war but, after background check, they were eligible for the draft if they wished so. Those who were already serving in the American army as professional soldiers, were given the opportunity to file for honorable discharge if they felt their loyalty conflicted by the American belligerence.¹⁷

The Selective Service System provided the most important sources for my research. The Draft Registration Cards were produced from June 1917. There were more than 4,000 draft boards countrywide to register all the eligible men for the draft. According to the law, all men between the age of 18 and 45, living in the territory of the United States of America had to register for the draft. Naturally, not all of them were actually drafted, but their information in the registration cards is valuable for the research.

The registration process had three stages.

- First Registration. The first part was on June 5, 1917. All the men between 21 and 31 years had to register who were born between June 6, 1886, and June 5, 1896.
- Second Registration. It was on June 5, 1918, and all the men born between June 6, 1896, and June 5, 1897, had to register. Those who missed the first opportunity got a second chance without a penalty. There was an extra day on August 24, for those who reached 21 since June 5.
- Third Registration. It was held on September 12, 1918. Every men between the age of 18 and 21, and between 31 and 45, who were born between September 11, 1872, and September 12, 1900, was made to register.

It is a hard task to specify the exact number of Hungarians among the registrants. According to statistics based on the national census in 1910, there were 473,538 people living in the United States, who spoke Hungarian as a native language.¹⁸ Of course, we would need to filter out the men between 18 and 45 years, and take into account the flow of immigrants between 1910 and 1914 to give an approximate number of those eligible for the draft.

Based on the author’s original research into the Draft Registration Cards created as part of the Selective Service System in 1917–18, a database of 1198 Hungarian immigrants who registered for the draft has been compiled.¹⁹

Out of the 1198 individuals, only 357 answered ‘yes’ to the question. This is little less than 30 percent (29.8), which means less than one third of Hungarian registrants claimed clearly that they did not wish to fight in the First World War. It is important to note how-

¹⁷ There were several examples to this, as the author’s another ongoing original research based on the Abstracts of World War I. Military Service, 1917–1919 shows – as it will be elaborated in a different paper.

¹⁸ Based on statistics published by Julianna Puskás in Puskás: *Overseas Migration*.

¹⁹ The research was based on a representative sample of some 1198 Hungarian registrants who filled out Draft Registration Cards in 1917–1918. The database is based on the following record group: National Archives and Records Administration, United States Selective Service System. Selective Service Registration Cards, World War I: Records of the Selective Service System, Record Group Number M-1509.

ever, that there could have been many who completed the compulsory registration knowing for a fact that they would not be obligated to enlist. So, being sure of their safe position, they may simply have left this answer empty.

The following chart contains those who indicated their claims for exemption. The 357 individuals were divided into 8 categories. The four main grounds for claiming exemption were family, health, citizenship and ethic/moral issues. These make up four of the eight categories. The 'other' category was created to include those who cannot be clearly categorized into one of the previous four. There were also some who mentioned two reasons for exemption, and those who did not specify any grounds at all. Finally, in some cases, the answers were unreadable. Each of these are represented in different lines in the chart.

<i>Grounds for claiming exemption</i>	
<i>Grounds</i>	<i>Quantity</i>
<i>Family</i>	250
<i>Health</i>	24
<i>Citizenship</i>	14
<i>Ethical/moral</i>	22
<i>Multiple grounds</i>	5
<i>Unreadable</i>	8
<i>Other</i>	5
<i>Not specified</i>	29
<i>Altogether</i>	357

Figure 2: Classification of grounds claimed for exemption by Hungarian registrants²⁰

As shown in the table, in the majority of the cases (250 out of 357) the Hungarian registrants claimed exemption on family grounds, which is 70 percent proportion. Among these, most claims mentioned wives and children under 12, or simply 'family'. 'Support of family', 'support my wife + children', 'have to support family' were the most frequently used expressions but the registrants sometimes simply put 'married man' as the answer. In some cases, only the word 'dependents' or its misspelt variant 'dependants' was mentioned. Many registrants (41) claimed exemption because they had one, or both parents to support. Four registrants claimed they had to support their siblings, too, while three registrants put 'dependent relatives' as their answers, which indicate the support of more distant relatives. In one case, a registrant asked for exemption due to the support of his four children and his mother.

Health reasons were mentioned 24 times in the registration cards, which comprises 6.5 percent of the sample. Among the members of the draft boards usually were physicians to conduct a short medical examination during the registration process. So claiming exemption on medical grounds could only be accepted if it had strong basis. This may provide an explanation as to the low number of health-based claim. One person claimed nervous frus-

²⁰ From the database of Hungarian registrants of 1917.

tration as grounds of exemption, but most men named physical problems such as limb injuries (8 cases), and vision problems (5 cases). Apart from these, rupture, physical weakness, not specified physical disability, and two serious illnesses: asthma and tuberculosis appear in the sources.

Fourteen registrants claimed exemption on the grounds of their citizenship. The overwhelming majority of them were, of course, not American citizens. The Selective Service Act categorized immigrants into four major groups: diplomatic, declarant, non-declarant, and enemy aliens. Foreign diplomats were of course exempted from the draft since they were not residents of the United States. Declarant aliens included immigrants who had filed their first papers of intention to become citizens. In most cases they were expected to fulfill the five years' residency requirement to complete the naturalization process. Declarant immigrants from friendly and allied nations were made eligible for the draft. Non-declarant aliens were those who did not file any papers to signal their intention of becoming American citizens. This group was made transitory, and could not be drafted due to their temporary status. The goal was to protect American citizens living in other countries under temporary resident status, so they would not be subjects for drafting into foreign armies. The category of enemy aliens included both declarant and non-declarant immigrants from enemy nations. By the report of a provost marshal general, enemy aliens were considered to be unfit to serve since they would be pit in a position of potentially fighting against their own countrymen.

More than 80 percent of them belonged in the "enemy alien" category for they had not even filed their papers to start the naturalization process. Still, only 14 people in the sample chose this reason to claim exemption.

The most interesting part of the sample may be those who claimed exemption on ethical/moral grounds, even though only 22 people did so, which is only 6 percent of the whole sample. Despite the low quantity, this is the category that provides us the most insight into the immigrants' way of thinking. Some of them referred to pacifism. Among them, there was Laszlo Bartha, who stated 'I am against war', Gabor Janki, who put 'I am not willing to go war' (sic!), and Nick Focht, who claimed to be an international socialist and wrote 'do not believe in war'. Louis Stark, a Tibolddaróc, Borsod County born immigrant, who went on to become a well-known reporter at The New York Times had a similar reason, he put 'ethical grounds, against taking life' as his reason for exemption from the draft. On an also similar note, Zsigmond Adler was not particularly against war but at least he was 'against conscription'. Some other registrants were also not particularly against war, it was participation in it they opposed. Steve Szaller for instance, put 'I am neutral' as his answer, while similarly Sandor Peto wrote 'dont intend to war' (sic!), Samuel Hiber put 'refuse to fight abroad' on his registration card.

Some registrants imposed conditions for their participation in the war. One of these examples is Bertalan Gero's, who answered 'only for defence of America, not for offence in Europe'. Another one was Daniel Toth, who claimed he was 'willing to defend the country'. On a slightly different note, Frank Jo did not intend to fight in the war but said 'if law force me I will go' (sic!). John Varga had a similar answer but he trusted the federal government to decide if he should go or not, stating 'only if it is necessary'.

Taking a look at marital statuses might provide some sort of explanation to the low number of people claiming ethical grounds for their exemption. Out of the 22, only four

were married, and only two of them had children. The most certain excuse for avoiding the draft was having dependents, most importantly children to support. Single men without children, of course, could not take this option, and if they did not have any underlining medical condition either, they could only refer to their citizenship status or their ethical objections to avoid the draft. It is safe to say that there must have been many people among those who claimed exemption based on family reasons, who had ethical/moral issues with the war but dependents were their best chance to avoid being drafted. The four married out of the 22 were the aforementioned international socialist Nick Focht, Zsigmond Adler who was against conscription, Joe Shultz who only put 'morally' as his answer, and Jozsef Zsrinszki, who specifically stated that he would not go to war on the side of the United States claiming 'wants to fight for Hungary if called'.

There were some others who, although did not dare to give such bold statements as Zsrinszki, also signaled their opposition to serving. They did so in fears of having to face their fellow Hungarians on the trenches. Such person was Joe Barber for instance, who asked for exemption because as he wrote, upon conscription 'would have fight my country'. Joe Kardos had similar reservations, asking for exemption because he could not take up fight against his original homeland. He put 'exempt, fight against brother' (sic!) as his answer.

Of course, the research is not a comprehensive one. It would take years, and a research group, to fully process the 24 million registration cards to find, filter, and catalogue all – approximately 50 to 60 thousand – Hungarian immigrants. With the necessary critical remarks, the sample of 1198 people is suitable for examining some social-historical aspects of the Hungarian-American community of the time, but no final conclusions should be drawn from the results presented here.

Fighting Under Uncle Sam's Flag

Despite being labeled "enemy aliens" and having to suffer hostility from Americans, approximately 3000 Hungarian (first and second generation) immigrants served in the United States Armed Forces during the years of World War One.²¹ Most of them were drafted in the framework of the Selective Service System but there were numerous volunteers, too, many of whom joined the army even before 1914. A significant part of the research is collecting information and drawing up life stories of Hungarian soldiers who actively fought in the world war on the side of America. These case studies are perfect examples of how a complete cooperation between the host nation and the immigrant nationals can be observed. In the following pages one of the best case studies of these volunteers will be discussed. He was an artilleryman, who made quite the name for himself by firing the first shot of the United States in the First World War.

This Hungarian-American soldier was Sergeant Alexander Arch (Ács Sándor), the commander of the gun crew of Battery C, 6th Field Artillery. To be fair, there was another Hungarian member of the same gun crew, Corporal Louis Varady (Várady Lajos). Being Hungarian was not the only common feature between them, both of them also lived in the same town during the years of the war: South Bend, Indiana. In this paper, I will only focus

²¹ Vida, *Hungarian Americans*. 314–315.

on Ács, who by becoming one of the icons of the American army in the public eye of his state, Indiana for a few years, may be a better case study.

*“Sergt. Alex Arch of South Bend, Ind., pulled the lanyard of an American gun in a battery position on a muddy hill northeast of Einville, firing the first American shot of the war into the German lines.”*²²

The battery was manned by four people. Sergeant Alexander Arch, chief of the first gun section, Corporal Robert Braley, gunner, and Cannoneers Louis Varady and John Wodarczak.²³ Alex Arch was first believed to be an Irishman, on account of his copper hair, but later it was discovered by the Hungarian-American press that he was, in fact, a Hungarian man. Primary source evidences have proven his Hungarian ancestry. Arch was born in Röjtök, Hungary, on March 19, 1894, as Ács Sándor, a son of István Ács and Terézia Pusztai.²⁴ The spelling of their family name must have been modified to reflect the English language, as it sounds much like the word “arch”, and to make it easier for Americans to pronounce. According to the Ellis Island Ship Manifest database, the father arrived in New York City on November 9, 1899 with his eldest son, Máté.²⁵ His wife, with daughter Ilona and younger son, Sándor (Alex) followed him on May 21, 1903.²⁶ Next month they moved to the state of Indiana. The family started building their new lives in South Bend, the children went to American schools and were very quick to learn English.

Alex chose the military career and enlisted in 1913, when he was 19 years old. For four years he had served on the Mexican border, reaching the rank of Private First Class, then Corporal in 1916, and becoming a Sergeant in 1917. After the United States entered the Great War, he was assigned to the 6th Field Artillery Regiment, which was deployed in France from July 27, 1917 to August 26, 1919. During this time, Ács fought in major battles of the World War such as Montdidier-Noyon, Aisne-Marne, St. Mihiel, and Meuse-Argonne. He was wounded two times: April 1, 1918 (after a gas attack), and May 28, 1918 (wounded by shrapnel). After the war he arrived back in the US with his regiment on September 5, 1919, and was honorably discharged on June 20, 1920. He received the Silver Star Medal for his services.

The deed in which he played a major role was of historical importance. Firing the first shot in the First World War is a significant step, although more from a historical and psychological point of view than a strategical perspective. Still, the event itself is important but the name of Ács is not recorded anywhere in the Hungarian military historiography. The case was very different in the contemporary American press, which paid a remarkable deal of attention to this young Hungarian soldier.

²² *South Bend News-Times*, October 22, 1918.

²³ History of the Sixth Field Artillery, US Army 1798–1932. (Edited by the US Army Sixth Field Artillery) Fort Hoyle, MD, USA. 1933. 169.

²⁴ Birth Register of Röjtök, Hungary, 1894. Available also at:

<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:33S7-9TVG-VSR?i=114>

²⁵ List or Manifest of Alien Immigrants for SS Southwark, Sailing from Antwerp, October 28, 1899.

²⁶ List or Manifest of Alien Immigrants for the Commissioner of Immigration. SS Pennsylvania, Sailing from Hamburg, May 8, 1903.

Ács became a minor celebrity in his home state between 1918 and 1921. First in his home-county, St. Joe, the state began to promote the purchase of war bonds (Liberty Loan) with his name. Local newspapers, the South Bend Times-News, the Indiana Daily Times, and The Richmond Palladium, and many others wrote such things as

*“What Are You Going To Do? – Alex Arch and the rest of the St. Joe County boys ‘Over There’ Want to Know. Those boys – our boys – would today be putting the question straight to us, if they could. [...] They want to know how the Home Folks stand – they want to know if the Home Folks are with them cheerfully, even to the last dollar. [...] Be a Volunteer Buyer – 4th Liberty Loan.”*²⁷

But his name was not only used for advertisements. After the American army returned from “Over There”, Ács was considered a hero by both the Indiana State press and political leaders of the state and several cities, too. He was regularly invited as a guest of honor to a wide variety of events, and was awarded with several honorary citizenships and other awards. His home town, South Bend even organized a welcoming ceremony for him. The organization board also created a Hungarian committee, which is a sign of how much the local American patriots were aware of Ács’s Hungarian roots. His homecoming was supposed to be “a unique event in the history of this war.”²⁸ The organizers invited General John Joseph Pershing, the commander of the American Expeditionary Forces in World War One himself, to attend the ceremony and present Ács with an award. Due to his other responsibilities, Pershing refused to attend, despite the continuous attempts to persuade him by both of Indiana’s senators James Eli Watson and Harry Stewart New.²⁹ The involvement of both senators goes to show the significance Indiana officials gave to welcoming Ács properly.

The ceremony took place on October 29, 1919, where attendees had an opportunity for a “meet and greet” with Ács, but prior to the big event, there were several other occasions during October, when locals could talk to the “pride of America’s armies”.³⁰

He was invited to a wide variety of events. For example, on January 13, 1921, he attended the annual meeting of the Indiana Brotherhood of Threshermen in Indianapolis, IN. As advertised in the Brotherhood’s periodical, the American Thresherman and Farm Power, the people of Indianapolis could meet the man who “fired the first American gun against the Germans” and owed him a great deal of respect. The event was expected to draw a lot of attention.

*“To say the least, Indiana is very proud of this soldier; it fell to his lot to fire the first gun. We owe him a great deal of praise. Not only that, but Indiana should be more than proud in the fact that she furnished the first American soldier to fire the first shot in defense of our flag.”*³¹

²⁷ *South Bend News-Times*, September 18, 1918.

²⁸ *Ibid.* September 23, 1919.

²⁹ *Ibid.* September 28, 1919.

³⁰ *Ibid.* October 21, 1919.

³¹ *American Thresherman and Farm Power*, December, 1920. 21–22.

The *Indiana Daily Times* reported on the parade the next day, writing “one of the features of entertainment Thursday night was in Tomlinson Hall was the appearance of Sergt. Alex Arch, who fired America’s first artillery shot in the World War.”³² As part of the night’s entertainment, Ács took part in the patriotic pageant, which depicted American war activities from 1776 to 1918.

Later that year, on November 11, Ács was invited to participate in the burial of the Unknown Soldier, a national monument commemorating the soldiers fallen in the World War in Washington, DC, as the representative of the State of Indiana.³³ The next year, 1922 saw Ács in New York City, where he served as recruit officer for his former regiment, the 6th field artillery.³⁴

There is no significant information about him until 1930. The national census shows Ács, 36, living in South Bend with his wife, Julia, and three children: Mary, Alex, and Yolanda. At the time, he worked at Studebaker Automobile Company.³⁵ He also appears in *The Indianapolis Times* that year – the newspaper remembers his deed in the World War by publishing a photo of him in uniform, with his children.³⁶ We can also find information about him from the 1940s. He appears in the 1940 census, still living in South Bend with his family, the only difference is another child: Margaret.³⁷ In 1942, when the United States entered World War Two, the 48-year-old Ács registered for the draft but he was not called into service due to his age.³⁸ Unfortunately, the next source where we can find his name is his death certificate from 1979. He passed away in pneumonia on December 9. His grave can be found in Osceola, IN, which is near South Bend. He possibly moved there with his wife upon retirement.

Closing Remarks

The Hungarian immigrant experience in the United States during the years of World War One was a very complex phenomenon with several layers and factors to consider. In this paper I made an attempt to provide an overview of their situation and to pinpoint some of the aspects explored in this research. Based on the research into the contemporary press, Hungarian-Americans showed dual allegiance: they pledged loyalty to both the American and the Hungarian regiments fighting in the war. Several Hungarians tried travel home to enlist in the Hungarian army but several others enlisted in the American army, or registered to for the draft with the intention of fighting in the war. But there was also a lot of people who tried to avoid the draft by claiming exemption on a variety of grounds. Ultimately,

³² *Indiana Daily Times*, January 14, 1921.

³³ Rider, *Merit*.

³⁴ *The Indianapolis Times*, September 22, 1922.

³⁵ United States of America, Bureau of the Census, Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930. Year: 1930; Census Place: South Bend, St Joseph, Indiana; Page: 6A; Enumeration District: 0040; FHL microfilm: 2340362.

³⁶ *The Indianapolis Times*, September 27, 1930.

³⁷ USABC Sixteenth Census of the United States, 1940. Year: 1940; Census Place: South Bend, St Joseph, Indiana; Roll: m-t0627-01135; Page: 29B.

³⁸ NARA United States Selective Service System. Selective Service Registration Cards, World War II: Fourth Registration. Records of the Selective Service System, Record Group Number 147.

some 3000 Hungarian-born soldiers fought for the US in the World War, some of whom did remarkable deeds of historical importance, as the case study of Alexander Arch (Ács Sándor) showed. This research is a comprehensive exploration of the topic, based on a wide-range of primary and secondary sources from both countries. The goal of this paper was to introduce some of the main ideas. Hopefully, the research will bring us closer to better understanding the life and situation of the largest Hungarian diaspora.

Appendixes



Appendix 1: Cartoon showing the “Pan-German hopes” being watered with “Hungarian blood”. Source: Amerikai Magyar Népszava, January 14, 1918

Form 1		REGISTRATION CARD		No. _____	
1	Name in full _____ (Given name) (Family name)			Age in Years _____	
2	Home Address _____ (No.) (street) (city) (state)				
3	Date of birth _____ (month) (day) (year)				
4	Are you (1) a natural-born citizen, (2) a naturalized citizen, (3) an alien, (4) or have you declared your intention (specify which)? _____				
5	Where were you born? _____ (town) (state) (nation)				
6	If not a citizen, of what nation are you a citizen or subject? _____				
7	What is your present trade, occupation, or office? _____				
8	By whom employed? _____ Where employed? _____				
9	Have you a father, mother, wife, child under 12, or a sister or brother under 12, solely dependent on you for support (specify which)? _____				
10	Married or single (which)? _____ Race (specify which)? _____				
11	What military service have you had? Rank _____ branch _____ years _____ Nation or State _____				
12	Do you claim exemption from draft (specify grounds)? _____				
<p>I affirm that I have verified above answers and that they are true.</p> <p>_____</p> <p>(Signature or Mark)</p>					

If person is of African descent, cut off this corner.

Appendix 2: Blank Sheet of a 1917 Draft Registration Card



Appendix 3: Alex Arch in uniform, possibly after the war

AUDITORIUM Today and Tomorrow

**EXTRA SPECIAL
DOUBLE ATTRACTION!**

SERGEANT ARCH
(HIMSELF)

TODAY AND TOMORROW

See him and shake
hands with him

**ZANE GREY'S
DESERT GOLD**
Directed by Tilmes Hunter

SERGEANT A. D. ARCH

In the first place we are safe in saying that ZANE GREY never wrote a western story to equal in sensation his "DESERT GOLD." Every foot of this big 7 reel feature is filled with thrills and action, and contains the most wonderful and beautiful mountain scenery and natural characters ever seen in a western drama. And the large and appreciative audience who saw this masterful Zane Grey photoplay yesterday will join us in saying it's the best western drama they ever saw. Its cast is all-star and it equals the magnitude of the drama. If you miss "DESERT GOLD" you are missing the best ever and one grand treat. TODAY AND TOMORROW should prove to be two big gala days, as the pride of America's armies, a South Bend boy and the talk and admiration of the country, SERGT. ALEX ARCH, who fired the first shot of our American boys in the great war, will be here to meet, greet, shake hands and talk to you. He will hold a reception in the lobby on a specially arranged platform, and will also talk to you from the stage. And as every man, woman and child will want to meet and shake hands with Sergt. Arch, the man of the hour, and in order that everyone shall have this pleasure, we must insist on the ladies and children and as many as can to come to the matinees, very early in the evening or to the 9:15 show. We want to say that the greatest honor ever given to a South Bend citizen will be given Sergt. Arch Wednesday, Oct. 29, with the greatest patriotic parade ever seen in South Bend, a great and worthy patriotic cause for our great hero who spent so many months in the trenches so bravely. DON'T FORGET SERGT. ARCH HERE TODAY AND TOMORROW FROM 11 TO 11. DON'T TRY TO GET IN AT 8 O'CLOCK, AS THOUSANDS WILL BE TURNED AWAY.

Appendix 4: Newspaper advertisement for an event with Ács in the focus from South Bend News-Times, October 21, 1919.



Appendix 5: Ács with his children in a photo in The Indianapolis Times, September 27, 1930.



*Appendix 6: Ács's grave in Osceola, IN. Source:
https://images.findagrave.com/photos/2012/24/45538328_132752060767.jpg*

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Torn between Two Nations – Loyalty Issues of Hungarian Immigrants in the United States in 1917–1918

Immigration from the territory of Austria-Hungary in the United States had been at its peak in the decade before World War One. Approximately 1.5 million Hungarians were living in the US in the years preceding the Great War – some of whom were temporary immigrant labor, but the majority was seeking permanent stay or even citizenship. When the war broke out, thousands of Hungarians indicated their intention to travel home and enlist in the Hungarian army, other tens of thousands stayed in the US but attempted to help by sending money or supplies to the troops fighting in the frontlines. Soon, questions started to rise about where the loyalty of these 'hyphenated' immigrants' lied.

After the US entered the war in April, 1917, immigrants from Austria-Hungary were categorized as 'enemy aliens' under the Selective Service Act. However, roughly 3000 of them ended up serving in the American Military. Although Hungarian communities were not targeted with xenophobic attacks as much as their German counterparts, but they definitely faced atrocities for being 'enemy aliens'.

The paper will look into the way Hungarian immigrants experienced the war. It aims to explore how Hungarian communities were affected by war propaganda, conducted by both the American and the Austro-Hungarian governments. The paper will also attempt to reveal how Hungarian-Americans discussed news from the frontlines. It will seek answers to the following questions: How did they react to certain events? How did they see the role of Austria and Germany in the war? What did they think about the Hungarian, and the American involvement in the Great War? For whom were they "rooting"? The research is based on two main source groups: primary source records from American archives, and contemporary, predominantly Hungarian-American newspaper articles. Additionally, relevant works of secondary literature will be explored and utilized.

Des chevaliers de Charlemagne aux « mercenaires » du XIX^e siècle

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Dans notre article, nous essayons de surprendre les deux archétypes des soldats présents dans la littérature française de l'époque médiévale en comparaison à la littérature de la fin du XIX^e siècle : des chansons de geste et romans chevaleresques aux romans naturalistes, on remarque le transfert d'une connotation positive du soldat à une connotation négative de celui-ci. Son portrait se décompose : on part du brave chevalier, le héros noble et courageux en armure étincelante, venu au secours de son seigneur et des pauvres et on arrive à l'officier prussien en uniforme militaire qui est cruel contre les femmes, à l'assassin à sang-froid qui nous fait toujours peur. Cela explique pourquoi nous avons assimilé ce personnage au mercenaire : si le premier tue pour l'argent, le dernier tue et viole pour son amusement.

La délimitation du corpus

Les textes que nous avons choisis indiquent deux époques littéraires différentes de la France : l'époque médiévale et la littérature naturaliste. Dans la première série on retrouve *La chanson de Roland*, *Tristan et Iseut* et *Perceval ou le Conte du Graal*, qui développe le personnage du chevalier¹.

Pour la seconde catégorie de livres, nous avons proposé trois nouvelles appartenant à un écrivain représentatif pour la littérature naturaliste française, Guy de Maupassant, qui a très bien surpris les injustices que l'armée occupante des Allemands a mené contre les civils français pendant la guerre franco-prussienne de 1870-1871 : *La Folle*, *Boule de Suif* et *Mlle Fifi*².

¹ *La chanson de Roland* est l'un des plus anciens poèmes héroïques français du Moyen Âge et certainement le plus remarquable de tous. Il a pour sujet l'expédition de Charlemagne en Saragosse et la défaite subie par l'arrière-garde de son armée commandée par Roland, mort à la fin de la bataille à cause de l'abominable trahison de Ganelon. *Tristan et Iseut* parle de l'histoire tragique d'amour illicite des protagonistes très connus qui donnent le nom au titre. *Perceval ou le Conte du Graal* met en discussion les aventures chevaleresques du jeune gallois Perceval et de monseigneur Gauvain, le neveu du légendaire roi Arthur, leur quête de gloire en armes et en amour.

² L'action des deux premières nouvelles se passe en Normandie et raconte les souffrances de deux femmes qui sont tombées victimes de la cruauté des officiers prussiens, alors que dans la dernière on passe d'une fête des vainqueurs allemands à une scène absolument macabre qui se produit dans un château occupé à Uville (près de Metz). Marquées par le courant naturaliste, les œuvres de Guy de Maupassant relatent la cruauté humaine et la violence de la mort.

Étymologie des termes

Malgré son étymologie latine, *la chevalerie* a ses origines dans le monde germanique. Le premier sens du terme *chevalier* renvoie à l'image du guerrier à cheval. Cependant, avoué à un code déontologique, qui suppose : « devoirs de service militaire, vassalique ou féodal, dévouement envers l'Église ou envers le roi, le patron, le seigneur ou la dame, grandeur d'âme et sens de l'honneur, humilité mêlée d'orgueil »³, la chevalerie est parfois liée à la noblesse, parfois considéré comme une catégorie séparée, surtout après que la branche de la féodalité a été déjà consolidée. N'oublions pas qu'à l'origine les nobles proviennent de la classe des hommes d'armes soumis au roi, après avoir reçu des fiefs en tant que récompense pour leurs services militaires.

Le mercenaire désigne normalement la catégorie du soldat qui entre dans l'armée d'un gouvernement étranger pour l'argent. Mais le mot employé de nos jours comme substantif a fonctionné dans l'ancien français autant qu'adjectif, ayant la forme *mercennier*. Le dictionnaire historique de la langue lui atteste une valeur péjorative de « vénal, corrompu »⁴, présente aussi le latin *mercenarius*. Nous allons utiliser pour notre sujet la valeur métaphorique du nom, c'est pourquoi le terme sera toujours accompagné des guillemets.

Le code déontologique

Ces différences de représentation en littérature de ces deux catégories de personnages sont beaucoup influencées par les codes déontologiques. Le chevalier est avoué à certains codes et usages particuliers et strictes et, par conséquence, on pense qu'il doit avoir une conduite morale irréprochable. On retrouve ces aspects très bien marqués dans les paroles de l'emblématique seigneur du *Conte*, Gornemant de Goort, évoqués lorsqu'il investit Perceval chevalier :

*« Mon ami, souvenez-vous-en, si d'aventure il vous faut combattre contre quelque chevalier, voilà la prière que je voudrais vous faire : si vous avez le dessus de sorte qu'il ne puisse plus contre vous se défendre ni se tenir, et qu'il soit réduit à merci, ne le tuez pas sciemment. Gardez-vous aussi d'être homme à trop parler ou à nourrir des bruits. On ne peut manquer, quand on parle trop, de dire bien souvent chose qu'on vous impute à bassesse. Comme le dit si bien le proverbe : Trop parler c'est pêcher. Voilà pourquoi, mon doux ami, je vous blâme de trop parler. Mais je vous fais prière, si vous rencontrez homme ou femme, et, dans ce dernier cas, jeune fille ou dame, qui soient démunis de tout conseil, que vous les aidiez de vos conseils ? Ce sera bien agir que de savoir les conseiller et de pouvoir le faire. J'ai encore une autre chose à vous apprendre. Attachez-y de l'importance, car ce n'est pas à dédaigner. Allez de bon cœur à l'église prier le Créateur de toutes choses d'avoir pitié de votre âme et de protéger en ce bas monde comme son bien le chrétien que vous êtes. »*⁵

³ Flori, *Chevaliers et chevalerie au Moyen Âge*, 8.

⁴ Rey, *Dictionnaire historique de la langue française*, 2200.

⁵ Troyes, *Perceval*, 115.

La chevalerie n'est pas pour tout le monde, c'est un ordre créé et établi par Dieu. Alors, le chevalier ne se rend seulement au service d'un tel ou tel seigneur, mais aussi au service permanent de la Sainte Église et de la justice et, par conséquent, sa mission est sainte et son esprit juste. Tous ces aspects peuvent être pris en considération pour expliquer la littérature. En ce qui concerne la réalité extradiégétique de la représentation, les opinions des historiens varient beaucoup : certains continuent à croire dans la noblesse spirituelle des chevaliers, certains, au contraire, les approchent beaucoup de l'image des « mercenaires » décrits par Maupassant. L'idéalisation du chevalier servira, toutefois, en tant que fondement du mythe chevaleresque, qui inspirera les écrivains romantiques.

L'officier prussien n'est pas soumis à des règles tellement sévères, parce que la carrière militaire n'est plus vue comme un ordre de Dieu. Cela explique pourquoi ils ont une conduite malhonnête par rapport aux civils : « les mercenaires » de l'écrivain du XIX^e siècle ne connaissent ni la notion du péché ou bien la punition divine, ni le remord du bon chrétien. Si les chevaliers n'attaquent que des hommes d'armes ou bien des créatures diaboliques, en promouvant l'idée de lutte droite, les officiers ignorent tout cela, profitant de leurs forces pour soumettre leurs possibles victimes.

Portraits

Les chevaliers portent tous des noms bien conservés, qui les individualisent. La mémoire collective associe Roland à la bataille de Roncevaux, en Saragosse, Tristan à l'amour interdit pour Iseut la Blonde et Perceval à l'épisode merveilleux du Graal, passé chez le Roi Pêcheur. En échange, à la fin du XIX^e siècle, le soldat devient le combattant soit anonyme « l'officier prussien » ou, en utilisant un substantif collectif « les Prussiens » : « Je l'habitais au moment de l'arrivée des Prussiens »⁶, alors dépourvu de toute identité et de toute personnalité, soit enlaidi. C'est le cas des soldats allemands de la nouvelle *Mlle Fifi*, dont les portraits transmettent en même temps de la peur et de la haine. Les traits physiques des personnages sont contrastifs et beaucoup ridiculisés : la présence imposante, rassemblée à celle d'un *paon militaire*, ainsi que les yeux bleus, en même temps froids et doux du major allemand, comte de Falsberg, contrastent beaucoup avec l'image du capitaine (le baron Kelweingstein), qui est petit et à gros ventre, ayant la denture difforme et surtout avec celle du marquis Wilhelm d'Eyrík, alias Mlle Fifi, dont la taille fine, pas du tout masculine, la pâleur du visage et les particularités de sa moustache sont responsables de son sobriquet. En plus, tous les portraits portent les traces de la violence. Nous avons cité ci-dessous pour analyse leurs traits physiques :

« Le major était un géant, large d'épaules, orné d'une longue barbe en éventail formant nappe sur sa poitrine ; et toute sa grande personne solennelle éveillait l'idée d'un paon militaire, un paon qui aurait porté sa queue déployée à son menton. Il avait des yeux bleus, froids et doux, une joue fendue d'un coup de sabre dans la guerre d'Autriche ; et on le disait brave homme autant que brave officier. [...] Le capitaine, un petit rougeaud à gros ventre, sanglé de force, portait presque ras son poil ardent, dont les fils de feu auraient fait croire, quand ils se trouvaient sous

⁶ Maupassant, *Contes de la Bécasse*, 42.

certains reflets, sa figure frottée de phosphore. Deux dents perdues dans une nuit de noce, sans qu'il se rappelât au juste comment, lui faisaient cracher des paroles épaisses qu'on n'entendait pas toujours ; et il était chauve du sommet du crâne seulement, tonsuré comme un moine, avec une toison de petits cheveux frisés, dorés et luisants, autour de ce cerceau de chair nue. [...] le marquis Wilhem d'Eyrik, un tout petit blondin fier et brutal avec les hommes, dur aux vaincus, et violent comme une arme à feu. Ses camarades ne l'appelaient plus que Mlle Fifi. Ce surnom lui venait de sa tournure coquette, de sa taille fine qu'on aurait dit tenue en un corset, de sa figure pâle où sa naissante moustache apparaissait à peine, et aussi de l'habitude qu'il avait prise, pour exprimer son souverain mépris des êtres et des choses, d'employer à tout moment la locution française – fi, fi donc, qu'il prononçait avec un léger sifflement. »⁷

L'image caricaturale de ces chefs d'armée du château d'Uville, ayant des grades militaires aussi que des titres nobiliaires (comte, baron, marquis), semble pourtant beaucoup contraster avec celle de la réunion solennelle et presque sacrée sur le Grand Pin, à Cordres, où on trouve aussi cette particularité des chevaliers ; ils sont nommés *des seigneurs chevaliers* par le légendaire empereur des Francs :

« Charlemagne, assis sur un trône au pied d'un grand pin dans un verger de Cordres est entouré de Roland et d'Olivier, du duc Sanson, de Geoffroy d'Anjou, le porte-étendard du roi. Il y avait là aussi Gérin et Gériet et à côté d'eux bien d'autres encore [...] le duc Ogier [...], le vieux Richard et son neveu, Henri, le vaillant comte de Gascogne, Acelin, Thibaut de Reims et son cousin, Milon. »⁸

Même si le texte de la *Chanson de Roland* ne nous offre pas de détails sur leur portrait physique, l'atmosphère présente dans l'épopée, la présence de Charlemagne, ainsi que les épithètes qui accompagnent les noms propres des personnages semblent suffisants pour tout dire : on parle d'une époque où il suffit de connaître le nom d'une personne afin de tout connaître d'elle. C'est pourquoi, les textes médiévaux n'insistent pas sur les particularités physiques de leurs héros.

Dans ces récits, les chevaliers peuvent être de bon lignage. Perceval et Tristan sont nés dans la seigneurie, mais soumis par la fatalité à la chevalerie errante. Pour *Tristan et Iseut*, Joseph Bédier choisit d'aborder cette question dans le premier chapitre du roman même, intitulé *Les enfances de Tristan*, où il y décrit *multum in parvo* l'épisode qui envisage Blanchefleur et son bébé, Tristan, lorsqu'ils quittaient le château de *Kanoël* aussitôt qu'on apprend la mort du Rivalen, roi de Loonois. En effet, ils doivent s'éloigner pour toujours de leur résidence et cela avant qu'ils ne soient pas dépistés et tués par le roi Morgan, le nouveau propriétaire en titre. La conjoncture fait que mère et fils entrent sous la protection du maréchal Rohalt le Foi-Tenant, l'un des vassaux restés encore fidèles à l'ancien souverain et grâce à qui Tristan recevra une éducation. Du texte du *Conte* on apprend que le père de Perceval a eu en propriété au moins deux résidences, on aurait pu donc situer le fils dans

⁷ Maupassant, *Contes et nouvelles*, 2-3.

⁸ *La Chanson de Roland*, 61 ; 65-67.

le classement des nobles. Mais durant la guerre, terres et hommes souffrent beaucoup et, parmi eux, les féodaux, qui se sont directement impliqués dans ces conflits. Conturée à travers les paroles appartenant à la mère, l'histoire du jeune Gallois nous raconte les circonstances qui avaient obligé, à elle, à son mari infirme et leurs fils, d'abandonner tout simplement leur domicile resté sans protection pendant ces disputes territoriales sévères et de se réfugier dans le manoir de la Forêt Déserte, dont le nom suggère ce qu'on connaît par *la rupture du rang*, très bien identifiée dans ses études par Gérard Chandès.

Et pourtant, l'appartenance à la catégorie de la seigneurie n'est pas *sine qua non* pour accéder à ce monde de sagesse et bonté, mais plutôt les qualités morales. Lorsque Charlemagne s'adresse à son armée, il met la catégorie des chevaliers devant les seigneurs auxquels il associe l'épithète « nobles ». De plus, le respect qu'il accorde à cette classe est visible surtout quand il décide à mettre ensemble deux catégories apparemment exclusives : seigneurs chevaliers, c'est-à-dire les aristocrates qui ne se réfugient pas dans leurs châteaux pendant les batailles, mais ils y participent et luttent à côté de leur souverain. On surprend ici les temps quand les titres de noblesse se gagnaient encore par la force des bras et non seulement par le principe du sang.

Scènes de vie

On remarque que les textes médiévaux abondent en épisodes variés, liés à la vie du chevalier : l'initiation, l'existence menée à la cour du seigneur, les quêtes chevaleresques/batailles ou la mort martyre de celui-ci, tandis que les scènes les plus rencontrées qui renvoient aux officiers prussiens gardent seulement deux aspects : l'occupation des villes ou des villages normands dans l'hiver de 1870-1871, des scènes liées aux crimes et aux viols ou aux orgies organisées dans des châteaux abandonnés par leurs propriétaires français.

Dans le roman arthurien, par exemple, on ne peut pas ignorer les épisodes liés à l'initiation de Perceval. Puisqu'un roturier ne peut pas devenir seul chevalier, on a besoin d'un seigneur qui accepte lui enseigner le métier des armes : après avoir été rejeté par le roi Arthur, Perceval rencontre Gornemant de Goort, auquel il portera du respect éternel et qui deviendra pour lui un modèle de bonté et de générosité. Nous allons citer le passage correspondant à la cérémonie de l'initiation en chevalerie de Perceval qui se présente comme un rituel sacré :

« Perceval abandonna les vêtements donnés par sa mère. Alors le seigneur se baissa, et lui chaussa l'éperon droit. La coutume était en effet la suivante : celui qui faisait chevalier devait lui chausser l'éperon. Il y avait beaucoup d'autres serviteurs. Ceux qui purent l'approcher l'aidèrent à s'armer. Le noble seigneur prit ensuite l'épée, la lui ceignit, lui donna l'accolade, et lui déclara qu'avec cette épée il lui conférerait l'ordre le plus élevé que Dieu ait créé et établi, c'était l'ordre de chevalerie qui n'admet aucune bassesse. »⁹

Si la question de l'initiation en chevalerie n'est pas omniprésente dans les créations littéraires médiévales, le motif des quêtes chevaleresques semble avoir devenu un leitmotiv.

⁹ Troyes, *Perceval*, 115.

Les chevaliers voyagent de pays en pays pour aider les pauvres et se couvrir ainsi de la gloire. Perceval a sauvé la châtelaine Blanchefleur, ainsi que ses terres. Gauvain a affronté le danger du palais des merveilles et sauve les femmes. Tristan a sauvé le royaume de Cornouailles de Morgan et ensuite accompagne Kaherdin dans ses quêtes. Ils sont bien accueillis aux châteaux forts par des grands seigneurs et des rois, habillés en vêtements chers et invités à des véritables festins. Tristan est invité par le groupe de sénéchaux dans la forteresse du roi Marc, à Tintagel, où le roi insiste qu'il y reste. Perceval mange à la table du seigneur Gornemant de Goort ou au régal offert par le roi Pêcheur. Gauvain, à son tour, obtient la permission de la part du roi Esclavon à loger à sa forteresse même en son absence. Dans le château du Roi Pêcheur, on trouve dans la chambre de Perceval des rideaux de lin, matériel ressemblant au cachemire, tandis que dans le palais des Reines, Gauvain est vêtu en linge de satin.

Les chevaliers peuvent s'aventurer aussi dans des terres obscures : avant d'arriver au château du Roi Pêcheur, on apprend que Perceval « a fait route toute la journée, sans rencontrer créature terrestre, chrétien ou chrétienne, qui aurait su lui enseigner le chemin. »¹⁰ Gauvain a eu la même expérience : « il a parcouru des forêts désertes et perdues pour arriver enfin en pleine campagne, au bord d'une rivière profonde, si large que fronde, mangonneau ni perrière ne pourraient jeter de pierre au-delà, non plus que n'y attendrait un trait d'arbalète. »¹¹ Ils sont aussi témoins à des mystères, qui renvoient au merveilleux et au surnaturel. La demeure du Roi Pêcheur et le palais des Reines nous introduisent un univers marqué par richesse, aussi que par le sentiment du terrible : la célèbre résidence en marbre gris et la mystérieuse construction habitée par les malheureuses désignent l'endroit où Perceval et le neveu d'Arthur, monseigneur Gauvain, interagissent avec la réalité autre, en risquant de perdre leur liberté. C'est lui qui exerce une attraction à laquelle les jeunes chevaliers ne peuvent pas se soustraire, lorsqu'ils se lancent dans une aventure dangereuse qui a comme but la découverte des secrets se cachant derrière les portes. On peut illustrer facilement cet aspect surtout dans le cas de Gauvain, qui ne cesse d'harcéler son hôte afin de lui donner beaucoup plus d'informations à l'égard de la cité des femmes. Quant à Perceval, il ne faut pas oublier l'observation de Pauphilet, selon laquelle le héros aurait été poussé vers le château du roi Pêcheur, qu'il considère des morts, par une force inexplicable, surnaturelle. Cependant, le médiéviste A. W. Nitze considère que la demeure est plutôt fériée que damnée et qu'il réitère un palais irlandais légendaire : « Le château féérique du Graal est conçu [...] sur le même type que le château royal de Tara en Irlande. »¹² Il compare alors la grande salle où Perceval et le damné ont pris ensemble le repas, avec ce que l'épopée des nordiques a consigné par « la salle de banquet ou *bruiden* »¹³, une pièce tout à fait unique par la splendeur et les richesses qu'y se trouvaient.

En échange, dans les nouvelles de Maupassant on ne remarque pas de tels rituels ou des actes de bravoure. Même les détails concernant leurs vêtements s'absentent. Les aventures chevaleresques sont remplacées par la scène perpétuelle de l'installation des troupes ennemies soit dans des localités de Normandie (Corneil pour *La Folle* ou Rouen pour *Boule de Suif*), soit dans des châteaux abandonnés par leurs propriétaires français. Les actes

¹⁰ Ibid. 137.

¹¹ Ibid. 209.

¹² Nitze, *Le Bruiden celtique et le château du Graal*, 231.

¹³ Ibid. 231.

guerriers sont abolis par le viol et le crime et la noblesse du cœur de ceux qui font la loi se transforme en violence et méchanceté. À ces actes de barbarie tombent victimes surtout les femmes.

Stéréotypies comportementales des soldats en relation avec la femme

Une différence monumentale entre le personnage du chevalier et celui de l'officier on retrouve surtout dans la manière que chacun d'eux trait les femmes. Le code de l'honneur demande aux chevaliers de se mettre au secours de la châtelaine, soit-elle jeune fille, veuve ou mariée et de la sauver du danger. Les récits chevaleresques sont ceux qui exploitent aussi le thème légendaire de l'amour courtois, qui renvoie à l'amour illicite, mais partagé, du chevalier et la Domna, l'aristocrate, la femme du seigneur. Dans une société gouvernée par les hommes, une fois mariée, la femme entre dans la propriété de son époux, qui, suivant l'ancienne loi romane, a le droit de vie et de mort sur elle. Le mari devrait être conçu comme le maître de son corps et de son cœur, cependant on ne peut pas nous limiter à cette interprétation. Au contraire, c'est toujours Schneider qui affirme, dans le troisième chapitre de son ouvrage, que c'est cette littérature, la fiction des châteaux, qui « invente l'amour moderne. »¹⁴, qui écrase la grande rigueur absurde qui fut établie par l'Église. Alors, on découvre que le célèbre rapport misogynne cesse d'être omnipotent dans notre récit : la femme noble n'est plus déterminée par les lois de la moralité à ne pas tromper un mari qu'elle n'aime pas, donc notre châtelaine n'attend pas la promesse du salut pour qu'elle soit enfin libre de la chaîne maritale. N'oublions pas que c'est la littérature du Moyen Âge qui a donné le couple Tristan et Iseut la Blonde ou monseigneur Gauvain et la sœur du roi Escavalon.

Huit cents ans plus tard, le soldat n'est plus courtois et la femme n'est plus Domna, mais une pauvre roturière, soit malade, soit vicieuse, qui tombe bientôt victime du viol. L'officier prussien des nouvelles appartenant à Maupassant ne cherche non plus à séduire la femme grâce à ses charmes et ne lui fait plus de déclarations d'amour, mais il la soumet à ses plaisirs charnels, bien sûr à la menace de la mort. La conscience de la supériorité et du pouvoir absolu fait que les soldats obtiennent toutes les femmes qu'ils veulent. La prostituée Boule de suif se fait repérée par un officier prussien et puis devenir victime d'un chantage de la part de celui-ci avec la liberté d'elle-même et de ses compagnons en échanges des faveurs sexuelles. En ce qui concerne la folle de la nouvelle éponyme, l'officier prussien pensait que tout le monde ment et que la pauvre femme ne souffrait pas en fait de troubles mentaux et c'est pourquoi il voulait se venger pour cette tentative d'arrogance de la part d'un civil. C'est ainsi que cette femme, la plus maltraitée des toutes, arrive à être violée par plusieurs soldats allemands et ensuite abandonnée dans une forêt près de Corneil, où elle expire. Le texte insiste sur la cruauté des soldats, qui l'ont laissée agoniser, puis mourir sans essayer à l'aider chez elle :

« Le soldat restait embarrassé, n'osant, malgré sa colère, la faire tirer du lit par ses hommes. Mais soudain il se mit à rire et donna des ordres en allemand. Et bientôt on vit sortir un détachement qui soutenait un matelas comme on porte un blessé.

¹⁴ Schneider, *Histoire de la littérature fantastique en France*, 262.

Dans ce lit qu'on n'avait point défait, la folle, toujours silencieuse, restait tranquille, indifférente aux événements tant qu'on la laissait couchée. [...] Puis on vit s'éloigner le cortège dans la direction de la forêt d'Imauville. Deux heures plus tard les soldats revinrent tout seuls. On ne revit plus la folle. Qu'en avaient-ils fait ? Où l'avaient-ils portée ? On ne le sut jamais. »¹⁵

Le thème de la guerre et l'image du soldat dans la littérature

La guerre désigne un des plus récurrents et, en même temps, un des plus complexes thèmes abordés dans la littérature, à partir de l'*Illiade* écrite par Homère et jusqu'à nos jours (par exemple le roman intitulé *Mur Méditerrané*, publié en 2019 par Louis-Philippe Dalembert). C'est en fonction de la manière dans laquelle on l'introduit dans un texte littéraire (comme phénomène héroïque ou, tout au contraire, comme synonyme du désastre) qu'on peut aussi constituer l'image du soldat. Si dans l'Antiquité il se définissait seulement par des traits guerriers et dans le Moyen Âge l'homme des armes se distinguait par le code de l'honneur et les sentiments courtois, parce que la guerre est idéalisée, dans le roman moderne il est aperçu tantôt comme figure négative, responsable du chaos, tantôt avec pitié, comme un individu condamné à tuer pour une cause absurde qui n'est pas toutefois la sienne. Cette dernière représentation est remarquablement surprise dans le roman de Louis-Ferdinand Céline, *Voyage au bout de la nuit*.

Les œuvres littéraires de notre corpus exploitent le thème de la guerre : si les textes médiévaux parlent des batailles imaginaires ou bien légendaires portées au nom de Dieu (la terrible confrontation de Roncevaux de la *Chanson de Roland*) ou au nom d'un seigneur, les nouvelles de Maupassant envisagent des scènes normandes de la guerre franco-prussienne, un conflit armé réel, consigné par l'histoire nationale et européenne (1870-1871). Mais alors que dans les récits anciens intervient l'élément religieux qui va imprimer à la guerre un caractère saint, des siècles plus tard la guerre est le symbole du mal et de la destruction, générée par une dispute politique, pas religieuse (entre Napoléon III et les autorités allemandes). On distingue uniquement la terrifiante arrivée de *l'autre* dans le contexte de l'absentéisme total d'une possible armée salvatrice.

L'adversaire reste toujours l'étranger et on fait appel encore une fois à l'appartenance identitaire. Les troupes franques de Charlemagne affrontent les Sarrasins, Tristan (le neveu du roi Marc de Cornouailles) lutte contre le géant Morholt d'Irlande, Perceval se met contre les hommes d'armes méchants, comme Le Chevaliers Vermeil ou Clamadieu, tandis que les civils des *Contes de la Bécasse* et les *Soirées de Médan* méfient les Prussiens qui occupent leurs villages. Les textes médiévaux parlent de la vaillance des chevaliers et des seigneurs de la France, car ils représentent le bien et le courage, en antithèse avec les figures du mal, de la vilaine qui viennent de l'extérieur. Dans les nouvelles de Maupassant la guerre fait seulement du mal, parce que la perspective narrative ne s'oriente guère vers une possible intervention salvatrice des soldats français qui s'absentent toujours, mais uniquement sur la terrifiante arrivée des *autres*, de l'armée adverse, dont les soldats sont vus comme des êtres vilains, corrompus et, surtout, cruels. Les choses n'ont plus souffert en fait une évolution marquante de perception.

¹⁵ Maupassant, *Contes de la Bécasse*, 47-48.

Les causes de la guerre restent, dans les deux cas, politiques. Le conflit armé tellement condamnée par Guy de Maupassant représente une dispute politique entre Napoléon III et les autorités allemandes. Cependant, dans les textes médiévaux occidentaux on peut rencontrer aussi la mise religieuse : c'est ce qu'on nomme *la guerre sainte* ou la guerre portée au nom de Dieu envers ceux nommés « païens » qui sont, dans la plupart des cas, de confession musulmane. Les luttes menées en Saragosse ont pour but l'abolition du danger provoqué par l'existence d'une croyance autre que le christianisme dans la région que l'empereur des Francs semble avoir perdu.

On peut identifier pourtant une conséquence importante de la présence de la guerre sainte : on remarque une variation assez prégnante concernant l'attitude des soldats envers la mort. Dans *La Chanson de Roland*, où les confrontations armées sont portées au nom de Dieu, juste avant le début de la légendaire bataille de Roncevaux, les chevaliers chrétiens reçoivent la bénédiction et l'encouragement de l'archevêque-chevalier Turpin :

« Notre devoir est de mourir bravement pour notre roi. Aidez à maintenir la chrétienté. [...] Confessez vos péchés et demandez pardon à Dieu. Je vous donnerai l'absolution pour sauver vos âmes. Si vous mourez vous deviendrez des saints martyrs et vous aurez votre place tout en haut du Paradis. »¹⁶

Les paroles de l'archevêque Turpin ont un grand impact parmi les soldats : « Les Français descendent de cheval et se prosternent face contre terre »¹⁷. À l'univers romanesque des chevaliers, la mort ne développe pas le même type du drame que dans la modernité, parce qu'elle est accompagnée toujours par la promesse du salut pour les martyres de Jésus Christ, des âmes courageuses qui ont sacrifié leur vie au nom de la chrétienté. Elle réduit le chevalier à la condition humble de mortel, c'est vrai. Et pourtant, l'épisode qui raconte la mort de Roland est monumental, parce que le brave chevalier n'a pas peur de mort, au contraire il arrive à choisir lui-même le lieu où il expirera (sur une colline, au pied d'un grand pin). La peur de la mort n'existe ni dans *Tristan et Iseut*, parce que la fin a une continuation dans « l'heureux pays des vivants »¹⁸, dépourvu des codes et usages sociaux qui gouvernent la société médiévale et condamne la relation extraconjugale du chevalier et Iseut la Blonde. Au XIX^e siècle, la mission chrétienne est, de toute façon, remplacée par la terreur. Au début de la nouvelle *La Folle*, M. Mathieu d'Endolin qualifie son histoire par l'épithète sinistre : « Tenez, dit M. Mathieu d'Endolin, les bécasses me rappellent une bien sinistre anecdote de la guerre. »¹⁹ Découvrant comme par hasard dans la forêt du faubourg Corneil les ossements de la pauvre femme maltraitée par les soldats prussiens qui a disparu depuis à peu près un an, le narrateur de la nouvelle *La Folle* ajoute à la fin de son conte une phrase tout à fait touchante : « Et je fais des vœux pour que nos fils ne voient plus jamais de guerre. »²⁰ Cette guerre ne regarde cependant aucune bataille, mais une permanente menace envers la population française restée sans défense. La mort amenée par les soldats mercenaires parmi les innocents est extrêmement violente ; c'est pourquoi, les scènes illustrant

¹⁶ *La Chanson de Roland*, 145 et 147

¹⁷ Ibid. 147

¹⁸ Bédier, *Le roman de Tristan et Iseut*, 99.

¹⁹ Maupassant, *Contes de la Bécasse*, 41.

²⁰ Ibid. 48.

leur décès sont venues plutôt comme punition pour leur méchanceté (l'assassinat de Mlle Fifi par la prostituée Rachel).

Peut-on parler des chevaliers mercenaires aussi ?

Cependant, notre classification n'est pas absolue. On peut identifier aussi des ressemblances entre ces deux catégories des personnages. On a des chevaliers méchants qui profitent de l'instabilité d'une châtellenie voisine pour la conquérir et en devenir seigneur. C'est le cas du Clamadiou des Îles, le guerrier méchant ayant voulu à conquérir le domaine de Bon Repaire, ainsi que Blanchefleur, sa châtelaine, à l'épouser. Ensuite, on distingue parmi les chevaliers des traîtres comme le Chevalier Vermeil, qui se révolte contre son roi et seigneur, le légendaire Arthur, en lui demandant armées et terres, ou Ganelon, qui trahisse Charlemagne, ainsi que toute l'armée des Francs. La différence est que tous les antagonistes seront punis pour leur méchanceté d'une manière ou d'une autre.

On voit aussi des chevaliers qui trompent les femmes. Perceval abandonne la fiancée de l'Orgueilleux de la Lande, ainsi que la châtelaine Blanchefleur, se montrant indifférent à leurs sentiments. Il oublie complètement la promesse faite à la châtelaine de l'épouser. Un autre exemple est Roland, lui-même, qui avait sacrifié sa vie au nom de la gloire éternelle sans penser un seul moment à sa fiancée, Aude, qui l'attendait à Aix-la-Chapelle. Aussi Aude meurt-elle le cœur brisé aux pieds de Charlemagne même.

Conclusion

On peut conclure que la perspective sur le personnage du soldat dans la littérature s'est beaucoup transformée du Moyen Âge à la fin du XIX^e siècle, en même temps que la perspective sur la guerre. On retrouve le soldat chevalier, l'incarnation de la bonté, du courage, d'un côté, le mercenaire illustré dans les nouvelles de Maupassant par l'officier prussien, de l'autre côté. Nous avons démontré, cependant, qu'il y a aussi certains éléments de contiguïté entre ces deux catégories de personnages. On a remarqué qu'il y a des chevaliers méchants qui profitent de l'instabilité d'une châtellenie voisine pour la conquérir et en devenir seigneur, ainsi que des hommes en armure étincelante qui trompent les femmes.

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From Charles the Great's Knights to the Mercenaries of the 19th Century

Our communication's purpose is to analyse the metamorphosis of characters embodying the soldier, as we can notice in literature (picturing the Franco-Prussian War) in relation to medieval texts. The first hypothesis from which we began our study focuses on the idea that in the two types of texts we can remark a visible degeneration of the literary representation of the soldier and of the ideal warrior. The second hypothesis is the fact that between the same category of characters we can also identify some correlations. The working method consists of the comparison between the two types of characters belonging to the very distant literary periods in order to find out what separate them and what are the similarities that bring them together. The explanations for their distinctive characteristics and their similarities will be researched both in literature and history. Our communication corresponds to the theme proposed by the colloquium, more specifically to the section that deals with the history of the nation in the late 19th century/literary representations of the nation.

La guerre franco-prussienne « traduite » à la littérature : Les Soirées de Médan

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Introduction

Que de fois n'avons-nous pas été en face d'un récit qui se veut être une transposition de la réalité, des événements historiques qui se sont passés dans une certaine époque ? Il serait presque impossible d'établir une liste de tels ouvrages vu que la plupart d'entre eux ont comme point de départ la réalité brute que l'écrivain modèle, en la filtrant par sa personnalité afin d'obtenir un produit stylistique et stylisé, une œuvre qui restera pour la postérité une synthèse de la réalité et de l'imagination de l'auteur, démiurge d'un univers.

On a la tendance de faire confiance aux histoires que nous avons sous nos yeux car le rythme du récit s'infiltre dans les pensées du lecteur, établit immédiatement une connexion entre sa lecture et la réalité au milieu de laquelle il se trouve : il a entendu parler d'une histoire similaire, il a été le témoin ou le participant de l'histoire racontée, etc. C'est ainsi que la lecture fonctionne, le pacte de lecture qui s'établit entre l'œuvre et le lecteur. Et cette complicité entre littérature et réalité, dont les limites s'effacent et s'entremêlent les unes avec les autres, est encore plus notable dans les récits naturalistes qui se proposent d'envisager la réalité telle quelle, sans embellissement ni souci pour l'esthétique, pour la beauté. Ils se veulent une simple transposition de la réalité en dévoilant ses côtés cachés, répugnants, qui provoquent le dégoût. Cette description est l'ambition même du recueil *Les Soirées de Médan*¹, une collection de six nouvelles sur la guerre franco-prussienne des années 1870-1871.

Cette représentation littéraire de la guerre franco-prussienne, de la nation française et allemande a suscité notre intérêt, en le matérialisant dans une recherche qui s'efforce de mettre en évidence les rapports établis entre les deux nations engagées dans le conflit, la violence de la guerre et ses effets destructifs, ainsi que la honteuse défaite du peuple français.

Pour organiser nos idées et pour illustrer notre point de vue, nous allons nous servir du terme *agonie*, sous les signes duquel tout le recueil est placé et qui sera utilisé avec trois

¹ Recueil collectif qui réunit six nouvelles : *L'attaque du moulin* d'Émile Zola, *Boule de Suif* de Guy de Maupassant, *Sac au dos* de Joris-Karl Huysmans, *La Saignée* d'Henry Céard, *L'Affaire du Grand 7* de Léon Hennique et *Après la bataille* de Paul Alexis.

sens. Instrument d'analyse, le mot *agonie* comporte une signification médicale, philosophique et abstraite.

La perspective médicale du terme le présente comme une lutte de la vie contre la mort qui caractérise les derniers moments de la vie d'une personne. Vu le contexte de la guerre, cette signification sera appliquée plutôt aux personnages masculins impliqués dans le conflit armé, les soldats français qui agonisent sur le champ de guerre.

Le côté philosophique du mot implique le tourment moral, l'angoisse, l'inquiétude, applicables aux personnages féminins du recueil qui, restés seuls, sans appui, sans protection, deviennent les victimes des abus physiques et sexuels des soldats.

La signification abstraite, sociale, communautaire du mot *agonie*, qui qualifie le terme du point de vue historico-social, est parfaitement illustrée par la définition que *Le Dictionnaire de la langue française* lui attribue : *lente disparition de quelque chose (d'un régime politique en particulier)*². Cette description correspond à la France et à l'effondrement de son système politique.

Après avoir clarifié les implications du terme *agonie*, discutons un peu de la structure de notre ouvrage. La première partie, intitulée *L'agonie de la mort. Une perspective médicale*, développe le premier sens du mot *agonie*, celui de souffrance paroxystique dans les moments qui précèdent la mort de l'agonissant. L'objectif central de cette partie est de souligner l'instinct, la bestialité, la déshumanisation, la désorganisation de l'armée française, tous ces aspects conduisant à l'irréversible défaite de l'armée française.

Dans la deuxième partie, *L'agonie de la femme – objet fragile sur la toile de la guerre*, nous avons l'intention de développer le deuxième sens du mot *agonie*, celui philosophique qui se traduit comme tourment moral, angoisse, inquiétude et qui s'applique aux personnages féminins. Nous nous proposons d'illustrer que la guerre n'affecte pas seulement les soldats, mais aussi les femmes dont l'agonie contribuera, dans une certaine mesure, à l'échec final. En plus, on assiste à la dissolution de la solidarité humaine et à la destruction d'une nation ébranlée par la guerre.

Ayant discuté de l'agonie des deux typologies du recueil, masculine et féminine, il ne nous reste qu'un seul personnage qui entre dans cet état, la France, situé(e) en pleine attaque et déchiré(e) par les batailles. C'est ainsi que dans la dernière partie, intitulée *Une nation en déclin – l'agonie de la France*, notre objectif est de présenter l'agonie de la France qui s'écroule sous le poids de la guerre, à la fin de laquelle le régime politique destructif sera remplacé par un autre.

L'agonie de la mort. Une perspective médicale

Victimes de la guerre atroce, hommes ou femmes, coupables ou innocentes, il y a peu de personnages qui ne se définissent pas par une agonie avant la mort, comme si elle était une sorte de purification, une des plus douloureuses, pour qu'ils puissent passer dans l'autre monde. Ce qui est à noter est que l'association de ce terme ne peut se réaliser qu'avec la nation française, ce qui trace du début les rapports qui s'établissent entre les deux armées ; dans cette manière, l'agonie de la mort fonctionne comme élément d'anticipation, annonçant les vainqueurs et les vaincus de cette guerre. Chaque victime de la guerre, chaque

² *Le Dictionnaire de la langue française lexis*, 42.

Français qui meurt assombrit le paysage et préfigure, défaite après défaite, le final inévitable de la guerre, qui prendra la forme d'une honteuse défaite que le passage du temps ne saura pas effacer. La plupart des soldats français sont présentés en agonie, les auteurs s'arrêtant sur les souffrances physiques de ceux-ci, alors qu'on ne parvient pas à trouver des Prussiens dans cet état. Ces détails nous permettent de qualifier le mot *agonie* comme instrument essentiel par l'intermédiaire duquel les auteurs du recueil dressent le portrait de deux nations engagées dans le conflit et les relations de pouvoir qui s'établissent entre elles. Les mots qui se tissent autour de ce terme central du recueil, eux aussi définitoires : mort, violence, deshumanisation, illustrent l'organisation défectueuse de l'armée, l'incapacité des commandants militaires, la préparation déficitaire des soldats français, tous ces aspects opposant nettement les deux peuples engagés dans le conflit armé. Le rapport inégal qui concerne le bilan des agonisants, des hommes qui meurent est la preuve concrète de la différence majeure entre les deux nations. C'est ainsi qu'une armée faible, mal-équipée, mal-préparée, prise par surprise, est condamnée du début à l'échec ; comme si cela n'était pas suffisant, les généraux ne représentent plus les intérêts de leur pays, ils se trouvent coincés, troublés par les décisions qu'ils se voient obligés de prendre, ancrés dans une immobilité qui agace les soldats et le peuple. La désorganisation de l'armée française se voit tantôt dans le comportement des soldats français, tantôt dans les décisions prises par les généraux car ceux qui normalement devraient défendre leur pays et lutter contre l'ennemi, dans le désordre de la guerre, dans l'incompréhension de leurs tâches, réalisent parfois un processus de substitution et s'ils ne peuvent pas lutter contre l'ennemi, ils canalisent toute la violence dont ils disposent contre leurs compatriotes, plus faibles, victimes sûres, pour se libérer de toute énergie négative accumulée, de toute cette soif meurtrière. Pour soutenir notre point de vue, nous allons nous appuyer sur les nouvelles *L'Affaire du Grand 7* de Léon Hennique et *La Saignée* de Henry Céard que nous considérons les plus congrues pour illustrer le chaos de la guerre, suscité par l'incompatibilité des intérêts des soldats qui ne s'engagent pas dans un mouvement commun, centré sur la victoire et qui arrivent parfois à se massacrer entre eux. Les nouvelles que nous avons choisies témoignent de l'incapacité des militaires de prendre des décisions raisonnables, qui soient favorables à eux et à leur pays, d'entrevoir une solution pour obtenir la victoire.

La Saignée nous fournit une agonie collective, de la garde nationale française, mais qui aurait pu être évitée si le général n'avait pas écouté la voix de sa maîtresse, Mme de Pahauën. Ce qui provoque, en fait, le malheur de l'armée française est la *perte du sens du commandement*³ qui est attribuée au général, incapable de prendre des décisions sans consulter Mme de Pahauën. L'abandon de la raison et son remplacement par cette chimère qui est la victoire contre les Prussiens peut être distingué en particulier à la fin de la nouvelle qui dévoile un résultat contraire à celui attendu par le général et par sa maîtresse car l'agonie des soldats est semblable à une protestation muette contre celui qui les a poussés vers une bataille, remplacée tout d'un coup par une boucherie. *L'armée qui saignait à pleines veines*⁴ est la victime collective de l'impéritie de son supérieur, le général, un compatriote qui a perdu le sens du devoir qu'il doit accomplir pour son pays et qui met au-dessus de celui-ci l'engagement face à une femme qu'il ne peut pas décevoir par aucun

³ Pagès et Pottier, présentation, 38-39.

⁴ Céard, « La Saignée », 230.

refus de ses caprices. Le sinistre tableau que nous avons sous nos yeux a comme auteur le général qui, pour exaucer le plus funambulesque désir de sa maîtresse, Mme de Pahauën, envoie son armée à une bataille dont il sait le résultat, mais qu'il repousse sous prétexte que la victoire se dessine dans les limites du hasard.

Alors que dans *La Saignée* le général se fait responsable du désordre, dans une autre nouvelle, *L'Affaire du Grand 7*, on retrouve des soldats français qui se définissent par l'absence de l'organisation, qui agissent conformément à leur volonté, sans obéir à aucun ordre. « [L]a folie d'une garnison mutinée qui s'attaque à une maison close et massacre un groupe de prostituées »⁵ serait une description idoine de ces militaires indisciplinés qui cherchent l'auteur du meurtre de Joliot, leur compagnon, mais qui, dans l'absence de celui-ci, doivent trouver un autre coupable pour qu'ils puissent accomplir leur vengeance. *Lasse d'inaction*⁶, la foule des soldats se laisse conduire par son instinct animal, activé par la mort de Joliot, et c'est à cause de l'inactivité pendant une période où on devrait se battre que la nature humaine, dans ce qu'elle a de plus bestial et brutal, surgit tout d'un coup, donnant l'impression que les soldats ont besoin de voir du sang couler pour entretenir leur instinct guerrier. L'absence de l'organisation et l'incapacité de lucidité des soldats les distinguent car au lieu de trouver une solution pour gagner la guerre contre les Prussiens et de garder leurs forces fraîches, ils canalisent leur énergie et leur violence contre les femmes, inférieures du point de vue de la force physique et sur lesquelles ils ont la certitude de la victoire. La déshumanisation bat son plein tout au long de la nouvelle parce que le déchargement de la violence sur les sept femmes d'une maison close se fait au détriment du jugement et sous l'impulse du moment qui pousse les soldats à obéir « à la passion cruelle du moment, à cette envie qui force les gens armés à vouloir se servir de leurs armes »⁷. On pourrait penser que ce crime a été commis pour venger Joliot, mais un autre événement qui se passe immédiatement renforce l'idée du déferlement d'une force qu'on ne peut plus supprimer, celle de la destruction de tout ordre existant et de toute soumission aux supérieurs : les soldats tuent l'officier qui essaie d'apaiser leurs esprits enflammés et de rétablir l'ordre : « un coup de feu partit soudain d'une fenêtre frappa l'officier du haut en bas, lui troua le crâne »⁸. Personne ne semble préoccupée de ce qui se passe avec les autres, chacun veut sauver sa propre vie, en faisant ressortir l'absence de solidarité et des ordres concis qui auraient pu changer complètement la fin de cette guerre. La seule bataille gagnée par les Français apparaît dans la nouvelle de Zola, *L'Attaque du moulin*, victoire ironique, factice car au prix de cette réussite infime l'univers familial de Françoise, la jeune femme de la nouvelle, s'écroule tout d'un coup et beaucoup de soldats français sont tués.

La bataille entre les Français et les Prussiens, notamment entre Dominique, père Merlier, Françoise et les soldats prussiens n'est que le début d'une série de luttes ridicules, mal-organisées qui contribuent à la grande défaite de la France. La mort de Dominique et du père Merlier, sans compter les autres soldats, démasque l'incapacité militaire qui a des répercussions sur tout le peuple français, les trois personnages étant donnés comme exemples pour comprendre l'inutilité, la futilité de la guerre et ses effets irréversibles.

⁵ Pagès et Pottier, présentation, 7.

⁶ Hennique, « L'Affaire du Grand 7 », 252.

⁷ Ibid. 251.

⁸ Ibid. 254.

Pour illustrer la violence de la guerre et le rapport inégal de pouvoir, prenons l'exemple de la nouvelle d'Alexis, *Après la bataille*, qui met en scène l'agonie d'un fantassin français, Gabriel Marty, blessé par l'ennemi, qui remémore une scène d'une cruauté insupportable :

« Ce qu'il apercevait encore, au milieu de la brume de sa mémoire, mais alors nettement, c'était l'effrayant et inoubliable changement à vue d'un soldat nègre, à quatre pas de lui, devenu blanc tout d'un coup, affreusement blanc, pendant une minute tandis que la cervelle coulait hors du crâne décalotté, et recouvrait la chevelure crépue. »⁹

Poussés par la crainte, sans savoir comment agir, sans préparation rigoureuse avant la guerre, la plupart de soldats français se trouveront chassés par l'ennemi, dans une manière similaire à celle que nous venons d'exemplifier.

L'agonie et la mort sont les axes autour desquelles toute l'action romanesque tourne pour faire ressortir les motifs de la défaite française. Les nouvelles que nous avons choisies ont quelques éléments en commun : la désorganisation, l'inexistence des stratégies militaires efficaces, des généraux prisonniers de leur lâcheté et de leurs hésitations. Tous ces traits reviennent d'une manière obsédante pour souligner qu'ils contribuent à la grande défaite qui est le résultat du faux patriotisme, des idéaux qui ne se situent pas au même diapason car l'armée française est comme un orchestre désaccordé, avec plusieurs chefs d'orchestre, incapables de la diriger. La vision sur la guerre est, presque dans tous les cas, une vision pessimiste qui analyse avec lucidité et dénonce l'attitude absconse de l'armée française qui lutte contre soi-même ou bien victime de l'ennemi et qui ne réussit jamais à coaguler ses forces pour obtenir une victoire authentique.

L'agonie de la femme – objet fragile sur la toile de la guerre

Au cours du recueil, nous remarquons que le mot *agonie* peut être attribué aux femmes également. Êtres fragiles par excellence, les femmes représentent plutôt le côté spirituel qui agonise. Figure angélique, comme Françoise de *L'Attaque du moulin*, femme prostituée par métier, représentée par Boule de Suif dans la nouvelle éponyme, maîtresse imposante qui est Mme de Pahauën, dans *La Saignée*, épouse confuse, Édith, d'*Après la bataille*, prostituées terrifiées dans *L'Affaire du Grand 7*, femme religieuse, angélique du *Sac au dos*, toutes ces présences féminines « voient leur existence bouleversée par la guerre »¹⁰.

Personnage typiquement naturaliste, omniprésent, captivant, redoutable¹¹, les femmes occupent une position paradoxale dans les nouvelles et bien que réduites comme nombre elles jouent un rôle essentiel dans l'histoire et souvent elles changent le cours d'une bataille et décident la vie des soldats français. L'agonie de Françoise se définit sur le plan moral parce qu'elle reste toute seule, sans appui, sans savoir quoi faire, comment se débrouiller, sans famille, elle assiste à la destruction progressive de sa vie. Apeurée, déboussolée, confuse, Françoise quitte l'univers protectif qui lui a caché la réalité cruelle et qui lui est

⁹ Alexis, « Après la bataille », 259-260.

¹⁰ Pagès et Pottier, présentation, 39.

¹¹ Becker, *Lire le réalisme et le naturalisme*, 98.

dévoilée tout de suite sans aucune pitié. L'indécision des soldats, leur attente d'une faiblesse de la part de Dominique forment une sorte de boucle temporelle, le temps est arrêté et c'est Françoise qui brise cette boucle, où ils sont ancrés dans une lenteur inexplicable, car elle dénonce la présence des Français aux Prussiens ; son cri de joie « *Les Français ! Les Français* »¹² fonctionne comme un *élément perturbateur* qui entraîne la mort de son fiancé¹³.

Figure indispensable dans les nouvelles, la femme apparaît dans la plupart de cas comme un personnage sacrifié par les soldats, victime de leurs abus physiques ou sexuels. Les deux nouvelles que nous proposons pour la discussion de cet aspect sont *Boule de Suif* de Guy de Maupassant et *L'Affaire du Grand 7* de Léon Hennique dont l'histoire met en scène des personnages féminines-martyres, objets des caprices des soldats, qui n'ont pas le droit de riposter et de prendre des décisions sur leur propre corps. Les deux éléments presque inséparables de la femme sont la prostitution et le viol ; la vie de celle-ci est régie par les plaisirs de la chair offerts à la concupiscence des hommes¹⁴. Le viol est l'élément central de *Boule de Suif* qui insiste sur l'idée de la femme-objet, victime des soldats et qui est obligée de se sacrifier pour obtenir les faveurs des ceux-ci. Et c'est dans les termes du viol que l'agonie du personnage féminin Boule de Suif s'inscrit et s'agrandit car, prostituée par métier, elle ne devrait pas être considérée une prisonnière de la prostitution. L'agonie du personnage s'enracine et ne le quitte plus, elle prend des dimensions insupportables pour la jeune femme jusqu'au point où elle semble prête à marcher sur le seuil de la folie : « elle regardait, exaspérée, suffoquant de rage [...]. Une colère tumultueuse la crispa d'abord, et elle ouvrit la bouche pour leur crier leur fait avec un flot d'injures qui lui montaient aux lèvres ; mais elle ne pouvait pas parler tant l'exaspération l'étranglait. »¹⁵ Le refus de la femme a comme source principale l'origine non-française de l'officier, d'une nationalité avec laquelle son pays est en plein état de guerre. Par cette prise de position, on peut inférer que la vraie source de son agonie n'est pas le rapport sexuel avec l'officier, mais son origine puisqu'elle évalue l'acceptation de la proposition comme un acte de désertion, de trahison de sa patrie. La souffrance de la jeune prostituée est augmentée par la conspiration qui se forme contre elle, cette conspiration dont l'habile manipulateur est la femme de l'église qui, en insérant dans son récit des exemples éloquentes, bouleverse Boule de Suif de telle manière « [qu']n aurait pu croire, à la fin, que le seul rôle de la femme, ici-bas, était un perpétuel sacrifice de sa personne, un abandon continu aux caprices des soldatesques »¹⁶. Les compatriotes qui auraient dû s'allier décident de sacrifier une femme vulnérable et la convainquent de se donner à l'officier prussien auquel ils se sentent plus liés qu'à une prostituée méprisable.

L'autre nouvelle, *L'Affaire du Grand 7*, concerne toujours l'agonie d'une femme-prostituée, agonie qui, cette fois-ci, n'est pas générée par un viol, mais par l'agression physique, par la terreur de la mort qui se cache sous cette violence. Poursuivant la doctrine naturaliste qui met en scène des hommes influencés par le milieu et par le moment¹⁷, la

¹² Zola, « Attaque du moulin », 83.

¹³ Bing, *Livret pédagogique*, 6.

¹⁴ Chantal, « Viols naturalistes », 63.

¹⁵ Maupassant, « Boule de Suif », 132.

¹⁶ Ibid. 123.

¹⁷ Tohăneanu, *Cours de littérature française*, 2 : 73.

nouvelle apporte une explication pour le comportement des soldats : ne trouvant pas le responsable de la mort de leur compagnon, Joliot, les prostituées doivent payer avec le prix de leur vie. Et cette substitution accentue de nouveau le rôle de la femme dans le récit naturaliste, qui se réduit à un objet, victime de la violence et des désirs des « mâles ». Tous ces détails se groupent pour former une image effroyable, celle de l'impuissance de lutter contre ceux qui sont plus forts qu'elles et qui cachent sous leur violence la mort même : « sept femmes [...] serrées les unes contre les autres, épouvantées [...] Par un sentiment de terreur folle, on avait allumé toutes les bougies des flambeaux de la cheminée »¹⁸. Vu l'âge de la dernière prostituée laissée en vie, si « vieille et l'air si respectable, qu'elle aurait pu être la mère du plus âgé des hommes survenus là »¹⁹, la violence déployée contre cette femme et son agonie morale se constituent comme un inceste qui, une fois consommé, la force « à crever pliée en deux, les jambes en l'air dans une posture obscène »²⁰. Les auteurs de la terreur et de la souffrance morale et physique qui vont culminer avec la mort des victimes sont exactement ceux qui devraient les défendre.

Enfin, pour que la typologie féminine soit complète, on doit faire appel à un personnage singulier dans le cadre du recueil : Mme de Pahauën, une présence dominante, capricieuse, accoutumée à avoir satisfaites toutes ses fantaisies, pour qui la guerre est une promesse de bonheur. Quand le général lui interdit de s'impliquer dans la guerre et, sous l'impulse, lui exige de quitter le pays, la maîtresse, comme un fin psychologue qui connaît la nature humaine, décide de se venger sur son amant et annonce son installation chez l'ennemi principal, le Prussien. Au milieu d'un monde qui se situe à l'autre extrémité et qui ne lui offre qu'une position marginale, celle habituée à être au centre de l'attention, tombe dans une profonde amertume d'âme et l'agonie prend possession d'elle progressivement. Reine de toutes immoralités, célèbre pour ses excentricités, cachée sous le maquillage et sous ses fourrures qui ne laissent pas à la découverte trop de chair²¹, Mme de Pahauën est le maître du déguisement par excellence. L'illusion d'une jeunesse éternelle, admirée par tout le monde, est détruite et Mme de Pahauën, accablée par l'agonie, conçoit l'idée de rejoindre le général qu'elle sait très bien manipuler. Irrationnelle, fourbe, elle ordonne le commencement de l'offensive, bataille dont elle sera la spectatrice et qui va se transformer dans une véritable saignée de l'armée française.

Le rapport des forces homme-femme, qui devrait se résumer à une relation de protection, se transforme parfois en violence physique. La désorganisation de toute une nation, leur incapacité de solidarité et de lutter pour une cause commune, modifient chaque individu et le vouent à une agonie permanente. On voit déjà les germes de la grande défaite et les éléments qui différencient les deux armées, celle française se plaçant toujours sur une position inférieure, digne de pitié.

¹⁸ Hennique, « L'Affaire du Grand 7 », 250.

¹⁹ Ibid. 251.

²⁰ Ibid. 252.

²¹ Fonyi, « Les Soirées de Médan », 106.

Une nation en déclin – l'agonie de la France

La défaite des Français a été ressentie comme un trauma parce qu'elle s'opposait à l'habitude généralement connue qui accordait à la France la première place parmi les autres nations. Vu cette position privilégiée dont la France se réjouissait, elle n'avait pas souffert une défaite, à cause d'une nation isolée, après la Révolution, étant considérée « la première nation militaire du monde »²². Après la catastrophe nationale, beaucoup de récits ont apparu comme défenseurs de l'image glorieuse qui accompagnait la France partout, avant l'année 1870. Il était question de masquer la réalité et l'humiliation outre-mesure que le pays a souffert lors de la guerre, en présentant la victoire de la Prusse comme conséquence d'un hasard que la raison ne saurait expliquer. Si on faisait abstraction du contexte historique et on faisait confiance aux récits qui essaient de se sauvegarder une image flatteuse de la France, attribuant les événements à la main du hasard, ayant la conviction d'une revanche qui s'imposait vu que la ronde précédente n'avait pas été prise au sérieux, qu'elle avait été *mal jouée* et qu'une autre ronde s'imposait²³, on pourrait croire dans la vérité de ces affirmations. C'est la tendance générale d'après la guerre qui, dépourvue de toute explication logique, interpellait la Divinité et posait le succès de l'autre nation sous le signe du hasard. Ce néanmoins, *Les Soirées de Médan* compte parmi les livres qui se définissent par une réaction pessimiste et, à la fois, réaliste, en opposition avec la perspective optimiste qui traite de cacher la vérité de la guerre, en lui donnant une image trompeuse, en renversant le rapport des forces. Le traumatisme causé par la défaite de 1871 pousse les écrivains à se concentrer sur les causes qui ont contribué au résultat catastrophique et les premiers indices semblent pointer au régime politique de la France, à la corruption des chefs et à la trahison de leur patrie.

Le volume *Les Soirées de Médan* représente un pas singulier et décisif pour la transposition de la guerre de 1870 en littérature. Adoptant les principes de l'esthétique naturaliste comme loi suprême, les écrivains s'écartent d'une vision idéalisée et héroïque de la France et montrent une prédisposition à dévoiler le camouflage de la calamité, répugnante, honteuse et dédaigneuse²⁴. Cette courte présentation du décor général et du contexte historique était indispensable pour que nous puissions comprendre le but majeur des écrivains médanistes et pour nous écarter de la tendance générale qui affirmait à propos des nouvelles qu'elles *ne valent pas une ligne de critique*²⁵ et que *le mieux serait de n'en pas parler*²⁶. Ce qui dérangeait était le courage de dévoiler la réalité, de témoigner contre la France et d'écrire sur ce qui est abject, ce qui est obscène et ignoble.

Les caractéristiques des personnages, que nous avons mises en évidence, et surtout les défauts que nous avons soulignés s'amassent pour tracer les causes de l'agonie de la France, de la macro-histoire. Exaspérés par l'attente de l'ennemi qui n'apparaît pas ou qui a fait son entrée sur la scène et qui les a soumis à un échec militaire continu, ininterrompu, les Français se livrent parfois à une attaque contre leur propre nation, s'acharnent à faire tomber le système politique pour instaurer la République puisqu'*on parle d'un nouveau*

²² Leroy, « La réception littéraire de l'Allemagne en France », 135.

²³ Ibid. 135.

²⁴ Ibid. 141-142.

²⁵ Wolff, « Courrier de Paris ».

²⁶ Plessis, « Causerie littéraire ».

coup d'État ou du renversement de l'Empire (S.D., 161), *le bruit court que l'Empereur est prisonnier et que la République est proclamée à Paris* (S.D., 162-163). Affaiblie par les attaques de l'ennemi, par la paralysie de militaires haut placés, la France devient synonyme parfait du terme *agonie*. Ses habitants, trahis par leurs convictions, par l'invasion de leur territoire, se réunissent parfois et montrent aux militaires ce que la solidarité du peuple signifie, par l'union de leurs efforts dans une émeute, censée à dissoudre l'Empire pour revenir à la République : « l'émeute menace »²⁷ et « [d]ix mille voix exaspérées hurlent à l'unisson et, à travers les notes brailantes de la Marseillaise, sur l'air des Lampions, un cri est répété, un cri de prière et de menace : La sortie ! la sortie ! »²⁸. Le déclin du régime politique est surpris par le texte même des nouvelles qui font transparaître l'absence de cohésion de la nation, la désertion de la patrie, la tricherie qui essaie de minimiser la gravité des défaites et de les présenter comme la voie vers le succès ou la victoire définitive : « Qu'est-ce que vous leur racontez encore aux Parisiens ? Vrai, il faut qu'ils aient bon caractère. Leur en faites-vous assez gober de ces blagues ! Voyons voir la nouvelle tartine ? »²⁹

Conclusion

Œuvre représentative pour la seconde moitié du XIX^e siècle, *Les Soirées de Médan* traduit la pensée de ses auteurs à l'aide de six nouvelles qui composent le recueil et qui peuvent s'encadrer dans deux typologies : littérature et histoire, par le témoignage sur l'événement historique de la guerre de 1870-1871. L'agonie fonctionne comme un lien entre l'individualité et la collectivité car c'est elle qui s'empare tantôt des individus, tantôt du pays. À la longue liste des défauts de l'armée française s'ajoutent la force destructrice de l'ennemi et les incessantes défaites de la France, favorisant l'épanouissement de l'agonie qui prend possession d'elle et qui conduira à l'effondrement de son système politique.

Notre prise de position se situe en opposition avec le penchant profus qui essaie de passer sous silence les causes de la défaite par l'attribution du succès de l'ennemi à la Fatalité. C'est ainsi que, en repoussant les affirmations qui cherchent à rabaisser le statut de « bijou » littéraire, nous sommes portés par la certitude que *Les Soirées de Médan* illustre la réalité brute, sans ornements, de la guerre de 1870-1871. Notre étude a donc été dédiée aux sens multiples du mot *agonie*, le dernier étant un sens abstrait, social, communautaire qui qualifie le terme du point de vue historico-social : « une lente disparition de quelque chose (d'un régime politique en particulier) »³⁰ ou bien, pour utiliser la définition que le dictionnaire TLFi lui donne, « approche de la fin, stade précédant l'abolition finale »³¹.

La micro-histoire et la macro-histoire sont liées par le terme *agonie* parce qu'il constitue un pont entre les deux et l'agonie de la macro-histoire (le régime politique de la France, en déclin) induit l'agonie de la micro-histoire. Cette dernière se reflète dans chaque nouvelle et

²⁷ Céard, « La Saignée », 171.

²⁸ Ibid. 172-173.

²⁹ Ibid. 176.

³⁰ *Le Dictionnaire de la langue française lexis*, 42.

³¹ Le dictionnaire TLFi définit l'agonie comme : *État de ce qui commence à tomber, à s'écrouler* (vieux, rare) ; *État de ce qui commence à se dégrader et évolue progressivement vers sa fin ou sa ruine* (sens figuré, usuel) ou bien *période de l'histoire correspondant à une régression*.

elle est illustrée par l'agonie des soldats et des femmes. L'agonie de la France provoque celle de son peuple car elle offre le climat propice pour le développement de la guerre et de la violence. L'agonie de la mort est la cause d'une nation ancrée dans une immobilité qui ne lui permet pas de trouver son équilibre et l'esprit de solidarité entre ses habitants. Le paysage s'assombrit de plus en plus et la fin de la guerre commence à prendre contours : les vainqueurs sont les Prussiens et les vaincus sont les Français dont la défaite peut être facilement anticipée car tout au long de la guerre la balance de pouvoir s'est penchée vers la Prusse.

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The Franco-Prussian War, a literary translation: Evenings at Médan

War and literature are two words that are in a fruitful relationship, the first one being the raw mineral that the second one is striving to polish to obtain a stylistic and stylised product. This paper tries to reveal the reality of the Franco-German war and the profile of the two nations involved in the conflict. Our aim is to present the destructive effects of the war, using as instrument of analysis an important word of the collection: *agony*. Thereby, this paper is structured into three chapters, constructed according to the different meanings attributed to this key-word.

The first chapter is conceived by considering the basic meaning of the word *agony*, i.e. intense physical sufferance before death, in order to reveal the violence of the war, the de-humanization, the physical violence, opposing the two peoples fighting in the war. This section will attempt to emphasize the existing rapport between the two countries during the armed conflict, but also its devastating effects, at an individual level. Consequently, the textual support will be offered by the male characters of *Evenings at Médan*.

The second section is concentrated on the philosophical meaning of the word *agony*, understood as moral torment, anguish, unease. In accordance with this sense, our objective is to present the consequences of the war as regarding the female characters, abandoned, without protection, without help, being the victims of the soldiers' abuse.

The last chapter is constructed so as to develop the abstract meaning of *agony* which refers to the decline of a political regime, of an existent system, resuming precisely the situation of *Evenings at Médan*. The violent fight between the two nations affects irreversibly the situation of France, its general equilibrium and its image, ending with a shaming defeat.

Touristes au service de l'État – Le récit de voyage comme un instrument contre l'indifférence coloniale ?

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La nécessité d'une propagande omniprésente

En France, l'idéologie de la Troisième République reposait sur l'idée de grandeur nationale notamment à travers l'existence d'un empire colonial. Les conquêtes coloniales prouvaient la puissance retrouvée du pays et permettaient de tirer les leçons des erreurs du passé, autrement dit de la défaite de 1870-1871, avec la perte de l'Alsace-Lorraine, tout en préparant la Revanche sur l'Allemagne¹. Ces deux phénomènes – conquêtes coloniales et Revanche –, appuyés par une expansion économique réelle², ont mené, après une longue période d'hésitation³, à la reprise de l'expansion coloniale commencée, pour le Maghreb, en 1830 avec le début de la conquête de l'Algérie.

Cette idée de l'empire outre-mer comme première étape de la guerre de revanche à venir contre l'Empire allemand et non pas comme l'acceptation de la résignation, de l'oubli des provinces perdues, n'était pas acceptée par tous en France⁴. En effet, une partie importante du pays ne voulait pas entendre parler de l'acquisition de nouveaux territoires mais préférait récupérer l'Alsace-Lorraine⁵. Beaucoup étaient conscients du coût extrême de la colonisation et pensaient que l'aventure ne méritait pas autant d'efforts et de sacrifices. L'opinion publique n'était donc pas unanime. Mais l'opinion de quel public ? Car, si nous mentionnons l'opinion publique en France, nous devons aussi préciser que la partie de celle-ci qui avait sa propre opinion sur la colonisation – positive ou négative – était très restreinte comparativement à la population du pays ; seule l'élite politique et commerçante comptait. Seulement ceux qui y voyaient leur intérêt et qui étaient concernés (soldats, fonctionnaires, négociants, commerçants) y prêtaient attention⁶. Ainsi, outre les divergences au sein de l'élite, il fallait également compter avec l'indifférence d'une grande partie de la population.

La Troisième République s'est donc trouvée dans une situation difficile, car même si la volonté de construire un empire colonial était claire de la part des groupes dirigeants, elle n'était pas sans controverses. Surtout, il n'était pas facile de susciter l'intérêt des couches populaires dont la vie n'a point changé malgré la colonisation. Cependant, l'État avait

¹ Girardet, *L'idée coloniale*, 56-57.

² Thobie et Meynier, *Histoire de la France coloniale*, 16.

³ Pervillé, *De l'Empire français à la décolonisation*, 36-39.

⁴ Girardet, *L'idée coloniale*, 102-107.

⁵ Ibid. 102-103.

⁶ Ibid. 27., 31. et 71. ; Thobie et Meynier, *Histoire de la France coloniale*, 15.

besoin de légitimer ses conquêtes⁷. Pour cela, il a introduit progressivement une propagande coloniale qui touchait tous les secteurs de la vie : les colonies⁸ apparaissaient non seulement dans des œuvres littéraires mais sur les affiches, sur l'emballage des produits⁹, sur les cartes postales et même sur les timbres¹⁰. L'image gagnait sans doute la plus grande place dans la propagande coloniale car elle ne demandait d'autre capacité que la simple vue. Outre les affiches et les emballages mentionnés ci-haut, les spectacles et les expositions sont devenus des pratiques populaires de la diffusion de la propagande¹¹. Les expositions universelles et, surtout, les expositions coloniales mettaient en scène la vie dans les territoires d'outre-mer. Les colonisés, vêtus en habit « authentiques », mimaient des activités dites traditionnelles, parqués sur le territoire de l'exposition comme les animaux au zoo¹². Ces événements rendaient possible à chacun de voir, par leurs propres yeux, la soi-disant vie aux colonies. Tout ce que représentaient ces endroits était, bien évidemment, éloigné de la réalité, et ils ne montraient que le côté avantageux des colonies. Ils donnaient cependant envie de soutenir, ou, au moins, d'accepter l'œuvre coloniale.

Simultanément, la littérature coloniale¹³ conquérait de plus en plus le marché. Pour cela, un facteur très important doit être mentionné : l'école obligatoire et par conséquent, l'alphabétisation qui rend la lecture possible pour la quasi-totalité des Français. Il ne faut cependant pas croire qu'à partir des lois Ferry tout le monde était capable de lire couramment. Pourtant, la portée intellectuelle et économique de l'alphabétisation est indiscutable ; ainsi, le récit de voyage, genre populaire même avant l'installation de l'école obligatoire, attirait encore plus de lecteurs.

Les éléments de la propagande coloniale française

La propagande coloniale devait avant tout attirer l'attention et rassurer le public sur la légitimité de l'action menée par l'État. Dans ce sens, il fallait créer une image idéalisée des colonies qui pointait les différences entre les deux cultures, africaine et européenne, en persuadant l'opinion publique de la nécessité de l'expansion d'outre-mer. Les sujets devaient être à la fois différents des images familières du quotidien et pénétrer dans le cœur des habitants. Elles devaient donc être attirantes. À cela contribuait la création d'une image très simplifiée mais fascinante et exotique de l'Orient, inventée par des « spécialistes » d'une « science » (l'orientalisme) issue de la volonté de conquérir les territoires orientaux.

⁷ La 3^e République faisait de grands efforts pour la formation de la conscience politique des citoyens. Non seulement la propagande coloniale occupait une place importante dans les œuvres littéraires mais aussi tous les éléments de l'idéologie, ainsi le sentiment national, républicain et démocratique. Lyons, *Le Triomphe du livre*, 239. ; Moura, *La littérature des lointains*, 77.

⁸ Dans notre article, nous entendons sous colonies les possessions françaises au Maghreb entre 1880 et 1910 notamment l'Algérie et la Tunisie. Le Maroc échappe à notre étude car occupé seulement en 1912.

⁹ Sibeud, « Cultures coloniales et impériales », 343.

¹⁰ Blanchard et Lemaine. *La France conquise par son Empire*, 141.

¹¹ Blanchard, « La représentation de l'indigène dans les affiches de propagande coloniale, » 149.

¹² Blanchard et Lemaine. *La France conquise par son Empire*, 44-46.

¹³ « [...] l'ensemble considérable de fiction qui peignirent l'activité coloniale européenne pendant les années du "Nouvel Impérialisme" environ de 1870 à 1914 » ou littérature qui témoigne le conquête et l'exploitation des colonies. Moura, *La littérature des lointains*, 33.

Leur point de départ et leur principal argument pour la colonisation était l'idée d'un Orient faible et primitif et d'un Occident supérieur dans tous les domaines de la vie¹⁴. L'Autre ou, comme on nommait à l'époque, « l'indigène »¹⁵ et dont l'appréciation variait en fonction des exigences de la politique, était aussi acteur essentiel de la propagande coloniale. Il incarnait le « bon sauvage » à la demande d'une éducation et un personnage simple, sale, qui n'avait même pas assez d'intelligence pour comprendre que la colonisation aurait pu lui apporter une certaine connaissance du monde. La conquête était donc légitimée au nom d'une « mission civilisatrice », du profit économique et de la conscience politique qui voulait que la France retrouve sa grandeur nationale¹⁶. La propagande coloniale devait diffuser cette infériorité des autochtones mais en même temps souligner leur caractère exotique.

Indépendamment de la forme d'apparition, la propagande omniprésente prouve que le système qu'elle visait à soutenir était de principe instable et sans soutien constant de la part du peuple. C'est dans ce contexte que nous devons étudier les récits de voyage écrits sur le Maghreb colonial.

Le récit de voyage, genre idéal au service de la propagande

Le récit de voyage se trouve au centre de beaucoup d'études car il va au-delà d'un simple genre littéraire. Écrit à la première personne du singulier, il raconte une étape de la vie de son auteur. Genre subjectif, il donne place aux émotions et à la diffusion des idées de l'écrivain-voyageur. Grâce à cette subjectivité, le lecteur-public fait confiance à l'auteur¹⁷. De plus, le lecteur s'identifie facilement au voyageur – d'ailleurs, c'est l'objectif de l'auteur lui-même. Le genre est devenu rapidement populaire en raison de son style qui est celui d'un homme moyen et de son rôle de vulgarisateur des connaissances.

En général, le récit de voyage fait mention du système politique et économique, décrit des mœurs et des habitudes que l'État de voyageur peut comparer aux siens. En étudiant le fonctionnement d'un pays, le voyageur peut tirer des conclusions et donner des conseils au gouvernement de son propre pays. Cette volonté d'étudier un pays et mettre les résultats au service de son État n'est pas une nouveauté à la fin du 19^e siècle. Même si le développement de l'individu se trouve au centre des voyages, comme illustre le Grand Tour, la volonté de la part de l'État de connaître le fonctionnement des autres pays n'est pas moins important. Tous les voyageurs servent ainsi leur propre État. Cependant, cela n'est pas le seul domaine où le voyageur intervient. Depuis longtemps, le récit de voyage est considéré comme vulgarisateur des connaissances. Ce sont les géographes-voyageurs qui décrivent les territoires inconnus pour la première fois. C'est grâce à leurs découvertes que les taches blanches disparaissent sur la carte et que, comme il est particulièrement important dans

¹⁴ Plus en détail voir Said, Edward W. *Orientalism*. London : Penguin Books, 2003 (1978, 1995).

¹⁵ Il s'agit d'un statut créé en Algérie pour pouvoir placer les autochtones entre les Français, donc force colonisatrice, et les autres étrangers vivants sur le territoire. Ce statut était instauré dans d'autres colonies françaises aussi. Le nom devenait équivalent des habitants possédants de droits réduits. Pour plus de détails voir Pierre Singaravélou : *Les empires coloniaux (XIX^e-XX^e siècle)*. Paris : Éditions Points, 2013.

¹⁶ Il s'agit de la doctrine de Jules Ferry qui pose des bases de l'idéologie de la colonisation. Girardet, *L'idée coloniale*, 82-86.

¹⁷ Gannier, *La littérature de voyage*, 47.

notre cas, la colonisation avance¹⁸. On peut voir sur quel point le pouvoir d'État compte sur les voyageurs et leurs récits. En ce qui concerne les voyages aux colonies, l'objectif n'est pas de décrire le fonctionnement d'un pays inconnu, mais de reprendre sans cesse une image créée sur mesure.

En analysant des récits de voyage, il ne faut jamais oublier que les voyageurs sont des êtres humains évidemment influençables. Ils peuvent donc entrer, souvent inconsciemment, au service de l'intérêt d'un État¹⁹. Cet État peut être celui du voyageur – c'est le cas des voyages dans les colonies – ou un autre, qui, en cherchant sa légitimité, fait au voyageur, par divers moyens, de décrire une image favorable construite sur mesure. C'est le cas des parodies de voyages vers l'Union soviétique et vers d'autres démocraties populaires comme la Chine populaire ou la Corée du Nord. La manipulation commence dès avant le voyage : le voyageur ou le touriste qui se prépare lit soigneusement des récits des voyageurs précédents et souvent des guides touristiques. Or, ces textes projettent des stéréotypes. Par conséquent, le voyageur part avec des présuppositions, des images produites avant le voyage. Lors du voyage, il cherche souvent à retrouver et à justifier ces images préconstruites au lieu de se concentrer sur la réalité²⁰.

Dans les récits de voyage du 19^e siècle on peut souvent retrouver les mêmes images, copiées d'un récit à l'autre²¹. Cela est encouragé par l'État qui tend justement à créer une image simplifiée, unifiée et positive des colonies qu'aucun voyageur ne doit démolir par son avis différent de norme. La vraie nature des pays orientaux reste cachée derrière une image banalisée.

En ce qui concerne la diffusion de la propagande, le récit de voyage pouvait en devenir un instrument par excellence à cause de sa popularité. Le fait que le public-lecteur aime les récits de voyage se voit dans les chiffres de vente, car la littérature du voyage, autant que la littérature exotique et la littérature d'aventure est très vendue à la fin du 19^e siècle²².

Grâce au progrès technique, de plus en plus de territoires sont devenus parcourables, les prix ont baissé, un plus grand nombre de personnes a eu accès au voyage. Avec les changements du rythme du travail, le nombre de ceux qui pouvaient se permettre d'avoir des loisirs augmentait, certains partaient pour passer du temps à la campagne, au bord de la mer ou dans les montagnes²³. Le tourisme, qui était alors en train de se développer, pour devenir un vrai loisir de masse, profitait de cette envie de se déplacer.

Les touristes, autant que les voyageurs, sont soucieux de documenter leur voyage. Malgré la superficialité, les récits de voyage écrits par des touristes constituent un corpus important qui reflète le fonctionnement de la propagande coloniale, montre les efforts faits et de la part de l'État et de la part du voyageur.

¹⁸ Salinas, *Voyages et voyageurs*, 32-33.

¹⁹ Bertrand, *La culture du voyage*, 275. ; Gannier, *La littérature de voyage*, 56.

²⁰ Si les voyageurs s'écartent des stéréotypes, c'est pour montrer comment la colonisation détruit, à leur grande déception, l'Orient traditionnel pour y installer la culture européenne. Zytnicki, « Faire son „métier” de touriste, » 32.

²¹ Bertrand, *La culture du voyage*, 135 et 146.

²² Ibid. 89.

²³ Bertho Lavenir, *La roue et le stylo*, 96.

Développement du tourisme colonial et construction du terrain à la faveur des voyages propagandistes

Pour servir les touristes, toute une infrastructure s'est créée en France et dans les colonies. On a fondé des clubs²⁴, écrit des guides de voyage²⁵, construit des hôtels de luxe, des auberges pour des touristes moins fortunés, des plages et des restaurants pour rendre le séjour plus confortable. En fait, le touriste retrouvait en Algérie les mêmes établissements de loisir qu'en France, à peu près le même niveau de confort mais s'y ajoutait le sentiment de l'exotisme. Les loisirs principaux de l'élite française y étaient présents : excursions, randonnées, bains, montagnes, casinos. Le sport, activité relativement nouvelle, très à la mode à l'époque, et le divertissement s'y étaient liés. En étudiant l'infrastructure touristique et les éléments exotiques introduits, nous pouvons voir que les organisateurs du tourisme ont créé un Orient banalisé²⁶, plus facilement consommable, où certaines caractéristiques stéréotypées ont été mises en arrière-plan mais dont le côté négatif (inégalités, agression, pauvreté extrême de la population locale) restait caché. Grâce aux billets circulaires et aux billets au prix réduit, les touristes n'étaient plus obligés de tout organiser eux-mêmes : il suffisait d'acheter son billet et de s'amuser. Avec l'introduction des billets circulaires un nouveau type de voyage est né : le voyage organisé. L'idée des voyages modèles, l'itinéraire fixe et les programmes répétitifs ont inspiré les organisateurs de la propagande et ont donné naissance aux voyages aux objectifs de propagande. L'itinéraire établi correspondait aux sites modernisés et francisés par des colons à la faveur d'une élite riche et influente. Le touriste n'est donc confronté qu'à une parcelle de territoire de vie européenne, un monde européanisé. Les parties touristiques de l'Algérie donnaient l'image d'un pays fabuleux, féérique, comme s'il était une terre des rêves. La mer, le climat agréable, le luxe qui entourait les touristes renvoient tous à un lieu utopique. À cela s'ajoute le fait que le touriste-voyageur y était en vacances, soulagé de ses soucis quotidiens. Il pouvait ainsi se livrer encore mieux au sentiment d'être dans un endroit idéal et à la fois intéressant car propriétaire d'une culture tout à fait singulière. Même si le touriste rencontrait de temps en temps des difficultés et des malentendus, dans cette ambiance, il n'était pas difficile de faire l'éloge des colonies.

²⁴ Ces clubs, comme le *Touring Club de France*, le *Club alpin français* et l'*Automobile club* s'occupaient de tout ce qui servait le confort du voyageur : ils organisaient des randonnées et des voyages plus longs, mais ils dispensaient également des panneaux routiers, ils standardisaient des chambres d'hôtels et ils adaptaient des normes d'hygiène. Plus en détail voir Bertho Lavier, *La roue et le stylo*.

²⁵ Pareillement aux récits de voyage, les guides peuvent devenir instruments de la propagande. Dans le cas des colonies, ils suivent l'avancement de la colonisation, la formation des trends, les itinéraires et les activités préférées des touristes. Ils nous informent sur les moyens de transport accessibles et sur les prix. De plus, les guides de voyage de l'époque de la colonisation nous donnent une image complète de la conception française des colonies, les habitudes et les mœurs de l'époque. Ils sont aussi au service de ceux qui ne peuvent pas se permettre de voyager, car en les lisant les lecteurs font connaissance avec le pays décrit. Bertho Lavier, *La roue et le stylo*, 44.

²⁶ Zytnecki, « Faire son „métier” de touriste, » 32-34.

Voyageurs et touristes au Maghreb

Au 19^e siècle, comme nous l'avons déjà indiqué, le tourisme n'a pas le même sens que de nos jours. De nombreuses études tentent à décrire la différence entre touriste et voyageur, en particulier à partir de la fin du 20^e siècle. Pour cette raison, nous n'y attardons pas. Nous devons tout de même souligner les différences les plus importantes. Pour la fin du 19^e siècle, le touriste a eu une fonction connue et acceptée, dont l'objectif était de « connaître le dessous des choses »²⁷. Il est donc difficile de le séparer du voyageur. Il y a cependant des différences. Le touriste faisait partie de la bourgeoisie ou de l'aristocratie. Pour lui, le voyage était avant tout symbole de statut, seulement au deuxième lieu venait l'intérêt pour un monde inconnu. Même si le tourisme s'est démocratisé lentement, pour pouvoir partir, il fallait non seulement disposer d'un capital qui permettait de financer des déplacements et du temps libre, mais il fallait aussi être assez cultivé pour pouvoir « lire les paysages au prisme de leur lectures préalables »²⁸. Au 19^e siècle, le touriste suit l'itinéraire qu'on lui propose²⁹, comme celui du 21^e siècle, mais il observe en se déplaçant et prend des notes qu'il publie souvent sous forme de récit de voyage³⁰. La volonté de connaître, de décrire et de transmettre ce qu'il avait vu le distingue du touriste de masse. Au 19^e siècle, non seulement le tourisme devient une activité préférée des aristocrates mais aussi l'écriture³¹. Néanmoins, les récits des touristes ne sont pas aussi minutieux que ceux des voyageurs : ils notent seulement ce qui frappe les yeux. Ils ne font pas d'enquêtes sur le territoire et ne discutent avec les locaux que très rarement. Grâce à l'envie de faire entendre sa voix, le touriste se présentait par sa propre volonté dans le rôle du propagandiste. L'État n'avait qu'à en profiter et préparer le terrain. Au-delà des touristes, des voyageurs « officiels » (conquistadors, diplomates, délégations gouvernementales, explorateurs, géographes et missionnaires), envoyés par l'État circulaient en Afrique du Nord et mettaient sur papier leur expérience³².

La formation de l'itinéraire proposé aux touristes-voyageurs dépendait de l'État. Les acteurs du tourisme guidaient les touristes et limitaient ainsi les impressions qu'ils pouvaient avoir.

Qui pouvait se permettre de voyager ? Michèle Salinas établit trois catégories de ceux qui visitent l'Algérie : les militaires, les explorateurs et les touristes³³. Il faut cependant noter que le parcours des colonies reste pendant longtemps réservé à l'élite. Même si le

²⁷ Ibid. 26.

²⁸ Ibid. 27.

²⁹ Cela lui distingue du voyageur qui, en revanche, « cherche à exister d'une façon autonome » et choisit librement son chemin. Christin, *L'imaginaire voyageur*, 67. ; Selon Jean Chesneaux avant tout le programme préparé en avance sépare le touriste du voyageur. Le touriste « „fait” des lieux, dont la liste est établie par avance » tandis que le voyageur est clandestin, il « laisse venir à lui les bruits de la rue, les odeurs des marchés [...] ». Chesneaux, *L'art du voyageur*, 65.

³⁰ Voir entre autres chez Michèle Salinas et Colette Zytnecki qui consacrent des livres sur les récits des touristes. Cf. Salinas, Michèle. *Voyages et voyageurs en Algérie 1830-1930*. Toulouse : Éditions Privat, 1989. ; Zytnecki, Colette. *L'Algérie, terre de tourisme*. Paris : Vandémiaire, 2016.

³¹ Bertrand, *La culture du voyage*, 271.

³² Salinas, *Voyages et voyageurs*, 32-33.

³³ Ibid. 63.

tourisme se popularise et devient de plus en plus accessible aux masses, jusqu'à la fin de la Deuxième Guerre mondiale, seulement une couche restreinte peut s'offrir le luxe de traverser la mer. D'une part, seulement les couches les plus aisées disposent des moyens financiers pour entreprendre le voyage. Michèle Salinas précise qu'en 1870 les frais d'une seule journée de séjour dépassent le salaire hebdomadaire d'un ouvrier moyen, sans compter le prix de la traversée³⁴. D'autre part, seulement l'aristocratie peut suspendre ses activités habituelles (travail et activités culturelles) et partir, souvent pour plusieurs mois³⁵. Ainsi, l'hivernage et la villégiature, prédécesseurs du tourisme moderne qui signifient plusieurs semaines d'éloignement de la résidence principale et donc des affaires, principales préoccupations de l'élite, restent des activités réservées seulement à quelques privilégiés. Le voyage d'outre-mer demande encore plus de temps libre et coûte encore plus cher. Très peu de gens ont donc la possibilité de voir les colonies de leurs propres yeux (et seulement une partie limitée de celles-ci). Par conséquent, l'image formée sur les possessions d'outre-mer est celle d'une couche peu nombreuse, munie d'une toute autre vision du monde que la majorité de la population. Cette image représentée par l'élite et une couche limitée d'intellectuels (instituteurs, professeurs, journalistes), d'un point de vue aristocratique, atteint le plus souvent un public restreint qui partage la même vision du monde. Le récit de voyage ne peut donc devenir le principal outil de la lutte contre l'indifférence des masses populaires ; ce rôle est réservé avant tout à l'image³⁶. Il se peut donc que le récit de voyage, genre aimé du public, reste une source mineure pour la propagande³⁷, surtout en comparaison avec l'image (les affiches, les cartes postales, les timbres, les emballages, etc.) omniprésente qui atteint toutes les couches de la société.

L'objectif des voyages est clair : donner aux voyageurs et aux lecteurs le goût des colonies. Cependant, comme tous les voyageurs n'ont pas le même point de vue, ils saisissent des éléments divers pour souligner la grandeur de la France et les valeurs des colonies. La fascination pour les colonies a donc des degrés, à partir d'une image positive mais sans contenu profond jusqu'à l'éloge univoque de tout acte colonial. D'ailleurs, l'opinion n'est pas unanime sur la portée des colonies : quelques voyageurs sont plus prudents et, sans nier la portée de la colonisation, attirent l'attention sur les risques éventuels. Certains glorifient la nature splendide qui impressionne le voyageur et décrivent des montagnes grandioses, des sources pittoresques qui symbolisent la naissance, la propreté et à la fois la grandeur. La végétation tropicale (palmiers, figuiers, orangers, oliviers) met aussi en valeur le caractère exotique des colonies. Ainsi, nous retrouvons le même constat : l'exotisme et l'orientalisme sont devenus l'argument principal pour la colonisation. D'autres recourent à la comparaison et soulignent les similitudes entre la France et les colonies. Dans ce cas-là, le voyageur retrouve les mêmes réalités en Europe, dans son pays d'origine et dans les colonies. Les

³⁴ Ibid. 29.

³⁵ Ariès et Duby, *Histoire de la vie privée*, 4:228.

³⁶ Sur l'utilisation de l'image dans la propagande coloniale voir Bancel, Nicolas, Pascal Blanchard, Laurent Gervereau (éd.), *Images et colonies (1880-1962). Iconographie et propagande coloniale sur l'Afrique française de 1880 à 1962*. Paris : BDIC-ACHAC, 1993.

³⁷ Nous ne nions pas la portée du récit de voyage dans la formation de l'opinion publique. Nous attirons seulement l'attention sur le fait que souvent, nous avons tendance à penser au voyageur comme première source de la vulgarisation du savoir qui contribue à la manipulation de l'opinion publique. Cependant, au niveau de la propagande coloniale, l'image est beaucoup plus importante.

similitudes peuvent signifier une déception à cause d'un Orient moins perceptible, voire perdu ou la satisfaction des résultats civilisationnels apportés par les colonisateurs. L'utilisation des comparaisons est cependant très dangereuse, car cause des malentendus³⁸.

Ensuite, certains considèrent comme devoir la glorification directe des colonies. Ils abordent des sujets plus profonds comme l'éducation, l'économie, l'agriculture, les mœurs et les formes de vie (composition de la famille, habitat, rites, traditions), pour démontrer que les colonies sont en progrès sur tous les domaines et que cette relation coloniale est sans doute avantageuse pour la France. Ces récits se construisent en suivant le même schème, similaire à celui introduit plus tard par l'Union soviétique³⁹ : le voyageur visite des établissements et des endroits recommandés et en fait son inventaire.

Que trouve le touriste au Maghreb ? – Une courte étude de cas

Les éléments obligatoires de la propagande coloniale.

L'attrance pour les colonies est d'une double nature. D'une part, le voyageur part à la découverte d'une réalité visible et exotique, comme le paysage, les ruines, les bâtiments de style arabe et les autochtones. D'autre part, il ne peut pas se libérer d'une vision idéologique qui incarne la grandeur nationale et la supériorité française. Le voyageur ne part pas vraiment à l'étranger mais visite un territoire appartenant à son propre pays qui ne permet pas de comparer les voyages coloniaux aux voyages classiques. Le cas des colonies au Maghreb est encore plus spécial : le territoire se trouve justement de l'autre côté de la Méditerranée. La distance géographique n'est pas grande, le territoire peut réellement être compris comme la continuation de la France, comme cela fut à l'époque de la colonisation. Le voyageur ne traverse aucun pays étranger, il atteint sa destination sans rencontrer d'autres cultures, sans passage. Malgré la quasi-proximité, la différence entre les deux bords de la Méditerranée est énorme. La culture, les habitudes, la conception de la vie, les conditions climatiques, les paysages ne se ressemblent pas du tout. Une césure culturelle et géographique existe donc entre la France métropolitaine et ses territoires d'outre-mer.

Le touriste est séduit avant tout par l'exotisme, l'inconnu et l'Autre. S'il rêve de connaître l'Orient dans sa réalité, le pouvoir colonisateur préfère lui montrer une civilisation importée de l'Europe, un Orient où tous les acquis européens sont présents, peut-être un peu pimenté d'exotisme. Ainsi, le voyageur est obligé d'observer les villes européennes et « civilisées » de l'Afrique. Certains en sont ravis, d'autres déçus.

Pour illustrer les degrés de la perception et les différences des points de vue, nous avons choisi trois touristes-voyageurs. Henri de Frileuze est attaché à la nature, symbole de la grandeur ; Trumet de Fontarce, membre de la société d'Anthropologie, recourt à la comparaison, tandis qu'A. Baudouin, instituteur de l'école primaire, qui visite la Tunisie grâce à une invitation faite par René Millet, résident général de France en Tunisie, fait éloge explicite de la colonisation. Évidemment, nous retrouvons plusieurs sortes d'éléments de la propagande dans tous les récits, seulement leur poids varie selon le style de l'auteur.

³⁸ Guyot, *Analogie et récit de voyage*, 33.

³⁹ Nous nous permettons cette comparaison car même s'il bouleverse la chronologie du temps, le système des voyages organisés par l'Union soviétique est plus connu que celui des colonies.

En ce qui concerne les sujets le plus souvent présents dans les récits de voyage, nous retrouvons les ruines qui représentent clairement la grandeur. En lien direct avec l'ancien Empire romain, la plupart des voyageurs croit que la France, désormais propriétaire du territoire de ces ruines, va dépasser Rome et devenir un empire plus puissant que son idéal ancien. Ce parallèle entre l'empire Romain et la France coloniale constitue un élément central de la propagande. Les vestiges de Carthage sont des lieux par excellence de la contemplation, et de la réflexion sur le passé et sur l'avenir, notamment sur les directions possibles de l'expansion du pouvoir⁴⁰. Henri de Frileuze en écrit l'essentiel : « [...] les ruines ne sont pas très nombreuses, mais celui qui se rend à Carthage ne vit pas dans le présent : il vit à la fois dans le passé et dans l'avenir, dans l'attente du spectacle qu'il promet, dans le souvenir des grands événements dont ce lieu a été le théâtre »⁴¹.

Certains bâtiments, symboles de grandeur et de richesse, reçoivent une attention particulière de la part du voyageur. Ainsi cathédrales, mosquées et palais apparaissent en grand nombre. Le chemin de fer, dont le réseau devenait de plus en plus étendu, symbolisait le progrès apporté par des Français et permettait au voyageur de pénétrer plus profondément à l'intérieur du territoire⁴².

L'implantation de la culture européenne devrait impressionner le voyageur ; cependant, son expansion demeure le sujet le plus discuté. Certains soutiennent vivement la francisation des territoires, d'autres en sont moins contents. Trumet de Fontarce parle d'un ton déçu de la disparition du paysage traditionnel oriental :

*« Nous regrettons Tunis, sa forte couleur locale, ses coutumes éclatants, le pittoresque de toutes ces jambes nues qui courent, généralement sans chaussures, dans la poussière, dans l'eau et dans la boue, surtout dans la boue que nous avons trouvée en arrivant comme en pleine Paris. »*⁴³

Biskra, la porte du désert est aussi aménagée pour les touristes, dont De Fontarce parle tristement :

*« Je crois en descendant du train que nous allons tomber dans un pays perdu et dans un milieu de sauvages. Pas du tout. Nous sommes accueillis par une nuée d'Arabes qui parlent généralement français et qui se disputent notre bagage comme dans les pays les plus cultivés. [...] Nous sommes dans un hôtel propre, bien tenu, les chambres éloignées du dehors par une galerie, pour plus de fraîcheur, et le commis-voyageur y brille par son absence. »*⁴⁴

⁴⁰ Zytynski, « Faire son „métier” de touriste, » 30-31.

⁴¹ De Frileuze, *Impressions*, 49-50.

⁴² En même temps, le chemin de fer ne rend pas possible d'une connaissance profonde du territoire car il assure la liaison seulement entre les grandes villes coloniales. Le touriste disposant d'un billet circulaire ne peut pas descendre du train où il veut, il s'arrête où il peut. Ainsi, le train fascine mais limite à la fois la visite.

⁴³ De Fontarce, *Souvenirs d'Afrique*, 41.

⁴⁴ Ibid. 49-50.

Selon lui, l'Orient a perdu sa singularité : « Ce massif de palmier se trouve au pied même d'un haut rideau de montagnes qui concentrent sur lui les rayons du midi, comme il en est à Menton. C'est une situation analogue. »⁴⁵ Carthage renvoie aussi à Menton : « Le temps est redevenu beau ; la température, l'aspect général, la végétation, rappellent tout à fait Menton. »⁴⁶ Toutes ces comparaisons banalisent l'Afrique du Nord, la privent de son caractère originel ; en plus, elles détournent l'imagination du lecteur et lui font créer une image fautive de l'Orient.

L'agriculture coloniale attire aussi le voyageur, et pas seulement pour des motifs économiques. (Le profit économique est l'un des principaux arguments de la colonisation.) L'installation de l'agriculture moderne sur les terres difficilement cultivables passe souvent pour un acte héroïque. Certaines propriétés agricoles sont aménagées en territoires-modèles. Baudouin décrit plusieurs fermes et d'autres domaines agricoles. Il visite le domaine de Potinville, une exploitation modèle où « d'élégantes villas entourées de jardins se pressent au bord de la mer dominées par la terrasse du Casion où flotte le drapeau tricolore. »⁴⁷ On y cultive du vin et du blé et on y élève des animaux. Les agriculteurs utilisent les machines les plus modernes. Une autre ferme plaît aussi à Baudouin :

*« Le propriétaire, M. D. est absent, mais Mlle D. nous reçoit avec la plus parfaite bonne grâce et répond le plus aimablement du monde à nos questions. L'exploitation est prospère. Les arbres fruitiers d'Europe, surtout les amandiers, dont les produits se vendent très bien, réussissent à merveille. »*⁴⁸

Baudouin fait plusieurs fois mention d'une alliance franco-tunisienne. Il raconte qu'un orchestre a joué la Marseillaise en leur honneur dans une brasserie⁴⁹ et que des enfants sortaient de la classe deux par deux, un Européen et un Arabe⁵⁰. Il dessine un monde harmonique, en progrès où l'Arabe soumis a accepté sans contradiction le pouvoir européen et s'est mis à son service. La description de Baudouin transmet une tranquille cohabitation de deux cultures : colonisatrice et colonisée.

Nous pouvons donc voir que l'attention des touristes-voyageurs tourne avant tout vers le paysage et les créations de l'homme occidental. Les éléments de la vie politique, de l'administration et de la justice coloniale ne les intéressent guère. Un autre sujet reçoit peu de place dans les récits : les autochtones. S'ils sont présents, ils sont décrits comme une partie du décor, un élément de l'exotisme. Le voyageur les ajuste dans des schémas préparés par les orientalistes et il ne fait que renforcer les stéréotypes déjà existants. Il ne discute que très rarement avec les autochtones. Dans ces cas, il s'agit des guides et des employés du tourisme, donc le personnel au service de l'État colonisateur. En général, le voyageur les observe simplement, sans échanges, et décrit ses suppositions ou bien l'image créée et souhaitée par des orientalistes. Si le voyageur fait mention des autochtones, c'est pour souligner leur caractère exotique ou primitif. Souvent, le village autochtone est

⁴⁵ Ibid. 49.

⁴⁶ Ibid. 25.

⁴⁷ Baudouin, *En Tunisie*, 41-42.

⁴⁸ Ibid. 48.

⁴⁹ Ibid. 9.

⁵⁰ Ibid. 21.

caractérisé par la saleté, les rues étroites et les petites maisons sans fenêtre : « Des baraques noires, sales, où pendent des animaux écorchés, des essaims de mouches qui bourdonnent autour de vous, donnent à ce quartier une horreur inoubliable⁵¹. » Le quartier arabe est dangereux et perçu négativement : « En pleine rue, de vastes trous de quarante centimètres carrés sont une belle préparation aux fractures de jambe, que l'absence d'éclairage ne fera pas éviter ce soir. Je parle du quartier arabe qui reste fort primitif. »⁵² Il y a beaucoup de malades et de misérables.⁵³ L'Arabe est oisif, simple, sans pensée profonde, sa femme est voilée. C'est la conclusion que nous pouvons tirer des récits de voyages. Même ceux qui ne font aucune mention des autochtones font distinction entre ville arabe (le kasbah) et ville européenne⁵⁴.

L'image peinte par des touristes-voyageurs est pratiquement similaire. Qu'il soit apprécié ou jugé négativement, on retrouve dans les récits de voyage un monde européenisé où modernité, progrès technique et misère cohabitent. On retrouve les restes d'un Orient jadis fabuleux ensemble avec le style de vie européen qui est en train de détruire les traditions. Les partisans de la colonisation soulignent évidemment la portée de la civilisation européenne et les efforts des colons de créer un monde égalitaire, basé sur les droits de l'homme. Toute injustice et agression est passée sous silence.

Les conclusions des Voyages

Pour voir comment les voyageurs évaluent leur voyage et « l'œuvre » d'outre-mer des Français, il est nécessaire d'étudier les conclusions des récits de voyage car les voyageurs y font l'inventaire de leurs sentiments, observations et présuppositions concernant l'avenir des colonies. Trumet de Fontarce constate au début de 1889 que la France est très présente en Algérie et en Tunisie. Sa présence apporte le progrès, mais elle est aussi très fragile. Il attire l'attention sur les effets possibles d'une grande guerre qui pourrait facilement détruire l'empire colonial. Il souligne que les colonisateurs constituent seulement une minorité et que, à l'exemple de Carthage, le gouvernement devrait être prudent. Cependant, seulement la longue durée peut montrer ce que sera l'avenir des colonies⁵⁵. Henri de Frileuze, qui parle très peu des institutions coloniales en 1896, mais qui met l'accent sur la nature et sur les bâtiments, tire une conclusion qu'on n'aurait pas attendue. Sans évoquer les problèmes sociaux et moraux tout au long de son récit, il conclut que la situation en Algérie et en Tunisie est grave car la France doit faire face à des peuples ennemis. Ce comportement hostile est dû à la religion musulmane car « elle commande de nous haïr »⁵⁶. De Frileuze propose la religion chrétienne comme unique solution, car seulement la chrétienté pourrait « assurer à la France, en tenant l'arabe en respect, un empire africain fondé sur la croyance

⁵¹ De Frileuze, *Impressions*, 37.

⁵² De Fontarce, *Souvenirs d'Afrique*, 15.

⁵³ Ibid. 60.

⁵⁴ D'après Hélène Blais, l'existence de la ville arabe et la ville européenne est le résultat d'un aménagement conscient du territoire car la puissance colonisatrice qui tendait à séparer les habitants des grandes villes selon races. Blais, « Reconfigurations territoriales et histoires urbaines, » 200.

⁵⁵ De Fontarce, *Souvenirs d'Afrique*, 80-82.

⁵⁶ De Frileuze, *Impressions*, 56.

antique des indigènes. »⁵⁷ Il accepte la colonisation car « il eût montré que nous [les Français] avions seulement combattu pour respecter, consoler et restaurer les consciences »⁵⁸. Baudouin ne tire pas de conclusion à la fin de son récit de voyage. Il remarque seulement que la Tunisie leur a offert « une succession de tableaux si impressionnants, encadrés par la plus cordiale hospitalité »⁵⁹. Cependant, il joint le « résumé des conférences » qu'il a données dans plusieurs communes après son voyage. Son objectif est de convaincre les jeunes, avant tout agriculteurs, d'aller en Tunisie. Il annonce que « l'œuvre accomplie en Tunisie par le Protectorat français est tout simplement admirable, [...] on ne peut plus souffrir d'entendre répéter comme une chose vraie *à priori* : Les Français ne sont pas des colonisateurs. »⁶⁰ Il fait mention de l'ordre rétabli dans les finances, les constructions des voies ferrées, l'ouverture des ports au commerce, le développement de l'enseignement public. En même temps, il reproche aux Français de ne pas être assez courageux de quitter la France et recommencer la vie en Tunisie, qui est, suite à ses descriptions, un « magnifique domaine colonial »⁶¹, endroit idéal pour vivre. Baudouin encourage donc tous les jeunes d'entreprendre une nouvelle vie dans le protectorat français.

Conclusion

Le nombre des récits de voyage écrits sur le Maghreb colonial est relativement élevé. Cela signifie que les touristes-voyageurs jouaient un rôle incontestable dans la propagande coloniale. Ceci n'est pas une nouveauté. Ces voyageurs étaient des touristes faisant partie de l'élite cultivée. Ils voyageaient, dans la plupart des cas, dans le cadre d'un voyage organisé, disposant d'un billet circulaire. Leur itinéraire était donc fixé par des sociétés (comme la Compagnie de chemins de fer et la Compagnie transatlantique) sans doute liées à l'État. Ils sont partis pour voir l'œuvre colonial de la France et de relayer curiosité et divertissement. En réalité, ils ont vu un paysage aménagé à l'europpéen, tout en conservant quelques traces « exotiques ». Les récits des touristes montrent très peu de diversité concernant l'itinéraire ; en même temps, ils mettent l'accent sur différents segments de la vie. Certains insistent sur la puissance de la nature et soulignent la grandeur de la France à travers des métaphores et une image pittoresque. D'autres sont très directs et ne cachent pas leur volonté de soutenir la propagande coloniale. Il est sûr que l'État colonisateur a fait beaucoup d'effort pour créer une ambiance de la modernité qui impressionne tous les visiteurs, qu'ils soient touristes ou officiels. Cependant, pour le succès des récits de voyage l'attitude appropriée des voyageurs était aussi nécessaire. La visite des colonies est devenue une sorte de devoir pour les citoyens des couches aisées qui prenaient part à la vie politique. L'État soutenait ces projets de voyage mais l'aristocratie lui-même l'a considéré comme obligation. Le même sentiment poussait beaucoup de touristes-voyageurs à publier leurs souvenirs. Le grand nombre des récits de voyage sur les colonies d'outre-mer est dû non seulement à la popularité du genre mais aussi à une certaine conscience nationale ressentie par les couches supérieures de la population. Il est clair que les récits de voyage sur le Maghreb colonial occupent, avec

⁵⁷ Ibid. 57.

⁵⁸ De Frileuze, *Impressions*, 57.

⁵⁹ Baudouin, *En Tunisie*, 83.

⁶⁰ Ibid. 93.

⁶¹ Ibid. 98.

toutes leurs caractéristiques spéciales, une place particulière dans le système de la littérature de voyage. Une place particulière que nous trouvions utile d'étudier de plus près dans la suite.

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The role of travellers in the national state building processes

To enlarge the territory and expand power and interest, every country uses different instruments. The propaganda, which is dedicated to convince public opinion for the national cause, is not only pervasive but multiform. Not only posters, discourses, TV and radio programs have the force to modify the conception, but ordinary people can become instrument of propaganda. The traditional role that we attribute to travellers is to vulgarise new knowledges, but we should not forget that they serve, in any case, political interests and governance. It is not rare, that a nation profits of the travellers to defend a cause, which has not surely positive reception. The manner is not complicated: the traveller has only to paint an image favourable and hide every negative points of the ruling system. He can easily become procurer of colonialism, without doing something else but underline the success of French people in the colonized territories and the results of the "civilizing mission", which is one of the principal reasons of colonisation. The traveller can serve the propaganda of other nations too, this is the case for example in regard to the Soviet Union, which manipulates foreign travellers, thus creating theatral background to mislead them and make them write and publish their travel experiences. We can consider the traveller as an important instrument of national state building processes. Therefore, I tend to present in my paper the manipulative role of travelogues on public opinion.

Some Biblical Hebrew Influence on the Karaim Bible Translations: The Book of Leviticus, Gözleve Bible (1841)

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Introduction

The Karaims are a Turkic community mainly living in Eastern Europe who are the followers of Karaite Judaism. Their religion acknowledges the Tanakh (the Hebrew Bible) as the sole source and it rejects any commentaries or additions such as the Talmud, unlike the mainstream of Judaism. Thence, starting from the early stages, the Hebrew Bible had long been translated into the Karaim language. Such translations are important to demonstrate the features of the highly endangered Karaim language that belongs to the Kipchak (North-Western) group of the Turkic languages. However, it is also known that these translations show some Biblical Hebrew influences which have already been discussed in several studies.¹ In these studies, the non-Turkic features of the Karaim language were not only attributed to Biblical Hebrew but also the Slavonic influence on Karaim were discussed. However, as will be demonstrated, some non-Turkic features in the Karaim Bible translations are usually based on literal translation. In this sense, the aim of the present study is to demonstrate some Biblical Hebrew influences in the Book of Leviticus² (hereinafter referred to as Lev) of the so-called Gözleve Bible (hereinafter referred to as Göz. 1841). The Göz. 1841 is an entire translation of the Tanakh (without the chronicles) into Karaim which was printed in four volumes in Gözleve (present-day Eupatoria) in 1841.³ This edition was considered, that the editors modernised the old manuscripts to adapt to Turkish.⁴ Nonetheless, together with the Kipchak features, it also represents the Oghuzic characteristics since the Ottoman influence was considerable in the Crimean area.⁵ However, some Kipchak morphological, phonological, and lexical characteristics were systematically altered with the Ottoman Turkish counterparts in certain chapters.⁶ Thus the study is going to demonstrate whether the Biblical Hebrew influences occur systematically in the different chapters of the corpus. Nonetheless, some relevant examples from the Lev of the Göz. 1841 will mainly be

¹ Kowalski, *Karaimische Texte im Dialekt von Troki*; Pritsak, "Das Karaimische."; Musaev, *Grammatika karaimskogo jazyka*.

² The Lev consists of 27 chapters and spans 57 pages of the Göz. 1841 which was written in Hebrew script.

³ Jankowski, "Translation of the Tanakh into Crimean Karaim," 51.

⁴ Jankowski et al., *Crimean Karaim Bible*, XX.

⁵ Doerfer, "Das Krimosmanische." 272–280; Schönig, "Osmanische Einflüsse auf das Krim-Areal." 107–119.

⁶ Işık, "Oghuzic and Kipchak Characteristics", 69–75.

analyzed together with three Karaim Bible translations in order to show the Biblical Hebrew influence in the other Karaim dialects.⁷

The Halitch Karaim Bible examples are taken from the so-called Abrahamowicz Translation which was presumably written in the 19th century by hand with a semi-cursive Hebrew alphabet. All the examples of this translation were taken from Olach's study⁸ which presents 60 pages of the entire translation consisting of some different parts of the Bible Books.⁹ On the other hand, the Trakai Karaim examples (which were originally published by Kowalski¹⁰) were taken from the same study as well.

As for the other Crimean Karaim examples, a recent critical edition was used.¹¹ The basic manuscript of this edition is BSMS 288. However, this edition also includes some other manuscripts, e.g. H 170 (Gaster), B 282, as well as some short fragments, e.g. JSul.III.02, Baxč. 116, Evr I 143, Evr I 144, Or. Ms. 169.¹²

Finally, some Hebrew, English, and Turkish Bible¹³ examples will also be used to demonstrate the similarities and contradictions between the Turkic and Biblical Hebrew structures.

2. The Hebrew Influence

2.1. The Definite Article

In the Lev of Göz.1841, the demonstrative pronouns *ol/o*¹⁴ occurs systematically to render the Hebrew definite article *ha-* although the definite article does not exist in any Turkic languages, neither in spoken Karaim. However, according to Németh¹⁵ many honorifics which are used with the Hebrew definite article appear in the spoken language as well, e.g. הנבון 'the wise', הזקן 'the aged, the elder; the scholar', המשכיל 'the maskil, the great scholar' etc.

⁷ At the present time, The Trakai dialect is highly endangered whereas Halitch and Crimean dialects are already extinct.

⁸ Olach, *A Halich Karaim translation*.

⁹ For more details, see *ibid.* 10–11.

¹⁰ Kowalski, *Karaimische Texte im Dialekt von Troki*.

¹¹ Jankowski et al., *Crimean Karaim Bible*.

¹² For more details, see *ibid.* XVI–XX.

¹³ In this article, all the relevant data of Hebrew (Leningrad Hebrew Old Testament), English (New American Standard Bible with Codes 1977) and Turkish Bible (Kutsal Kitap 2002) were collected from a software called 'Bible Works 9'.

¹⁴ The demonstrative pronoun *o* is the Oghuzic counterpart of the Kipchak *ol*. In the Lev of Göz. 1841, both counterparts can be attested. However, aside from one example in Chapter 7 (Lev 7:8), the pronoun *o* occurs only in Chapter 11 throughout the Book.

¹⁵ Németh, *Unknown Lutsk Karaim Letters in Hebrew Script*, 56.

Table 1: *The slavish rendering of the Hebrew definite article in the corpus*

Lev	Hebrew Bible	Eng. Bible (NAS)
16:7	<i>šənê haššə'îrim</i> two.CARD:MASC.DUAL.CONST the male goat.N:MASC.PL.ABS	the two goats
	Göz. 1841	
	<i>eki ol ulağ+lar</i> two the goat+PL	
	Tur. Bible (2002)	
	<i>iki teke</i> two male goat	

It is worth noting that the presumably oldest (from the 15th century) manuscript MS Evr. I 143 translation does not render the Hebrew definite article on the basis of some short fragments, e.g. Lev 1:2 of MS Evr. I 143 *tuwardan, sığırdan da qoydan* ‘of the livestock, the cattle, and the sheep’ vs Lev 1:2 of Göz. 1841 *ol tuwardan ol sığırdan da ol qoydan* ‘id’.¹⁶ However, this Biblical Hebrew influence has been attested in many different Karaim Bible translations¹⁷ and described in early studies as well.¹⁸

Table 2: *The demonstrative pronoun ol rendering the Hebrew definite article*

Gen	Hebrew Bible	Halitch	Trakai	Crimean
1:2	<i>hā'āreš</i> the earth:FEM.SG.ABS	<i>ol yer</i> the earth	<i>oł jer</i> the earth	<i>ol yer</i> the earth

In some other Karaim Bible translation, there are slightly different rendering methods in certain cases as well. According to Olach¹⁹, when the object is a genitive construction in which the head is in the accusative, the definite article is omitted in Trakai Karaim examples, unlike Halitch Karaim.

Table 3: *The usage of the definite article in genitive constructions in Halitch and Trakai Karaim*

Gen	Halitch	Trakai
1:25	<i>osol kiyig+i+n ol yer+nin</i> that beast+POSS.3SG+ACC the earth+GEN ‘the beast of the earth’	<i>kijig+i+n jer+niñ</i> beast+POSS.3SG+ACC earth+GEN ‘the beast of the earth’

However, throughout the Lev of the Göz. 1841, the definite article was not omitted in the genitive constructions similar to the Crimean Karaim translation.

¹⁶ For more details, see Jankowski, “Translation of the Tanakh into Crimean Karaim,” 59.

¹⁷ In some other manuscripts, the Hebrew definite article was also rendered by *osol* ‘that, those’, and *bu* ‘this’ as well (Németh 2011: 56).

¹⁸ Kowalski, *Karaimische Texte im Dialekt von Troki* xxxix; Pritsak, “Das Karaimische.” 331.

¹⁹ Olach, *A Halich Karaim translation*, 70.

Table 4: *The demonstration of the Biblical Hebrew definite marker in genitive constructions in the Göz. 1841 and Crimean Karaim Bible*

Lev	Göz. 1841	Crimean
18:27	<i>kiši+lär+i ol yer+niñ</i> person+PL+POSS.3SG the land+GEN 'the people of the land'	<i>kiši+lär+i ol yer+niñ</i> person+PL+POSS.3SG the land+GEN 'the people of the land'

Olach²⁰ has also demonstrated that the Hebrew direct object marker *'et* was rendered in Halitch Karaim by the demonstrative *osol* 'that' preceding the noun which has an accusative marker. In Crimean Karaim examples, it was rendered by *'šol+N+ACC*' whereas the demonstrative *osol*, *šol* and the like were omitted in Trakai Karaim examples. In a recent study, Olach²¹ analyzes this issue based on six different Karaim Bible translations of Gen. Among the examples, only in the Gen of the Göz. 1841 and Vilnius translation²², the particle *'et* was not rendered by a demonstrative pronoun. In the Lev of the Göz.1841, Hebrew *'et* was never rendered by a demonstrative pronoun but with the noun that has an accusative case marker as usual. Moreover, the pronouns *osol*, *ošol*, and *šol* never occur throughout the Lev of the Göz. 1841.

Table 5: *The demonstration of the Hebrew Particle 'et in Karaim Bible translations*

Lev	Hebrew Bible
5:11	<i>'et- qārābānōw</i> (direct obje marker).PTCL offering.N:MASC.SG.CONST.MASC.3SG
	Crimean Karaim
	<i>šol qorban+i+n</i> that offering+POSS.3SG+ACC
	Halitch
	<i>osol qarban+i+n</i> that offering+POSS.3SG+ACC
	Göz. 1841
	<i>qarban+i+nī</i> offering+POSS.3SG+ACC

Finally, another Biblical Hebrew influence in Karaim Bible translations is the rendering of the definite article in numeric expressions. The definite article is usually not used with the cardinals whereas the enumerated noun is marked for definiteness in Biblical Hebrew.²³ The word order 'numeral+*ol*+enumerated noun is followed by many Karaim Bible translations including the Lev of the Göz. 1841 as well which was already demonstrated in Table 1. On the other hand, in Biblical Hebrew, the ordinals between first and tenth behave as adjectives, and the numeral is marked for definiteness. However, the word order in

²⁰ Ibid. 74–76.

²¹ Olach, "Bibliiai héber hatások a karaim nyelvű bibliafordításokban," 281–283.

²² For further details, see ibid. 276.

²³ Waltke and O'Connor, *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax*, 283–284.

adjectival expressions was not followed in many Karaim Bible translations (cf. Olach²⁴) and therefore the definite article *ol* does not occur twice when the noun was followed by an adjective. The Lev of the Göz. 1841 also follows this Turkic order.

Table 6: *The Biblical Hebrew definite article in a numeric expressions*

Lev	Hebrew Bible
7:17	<i>bayyōwm haššālîšî</i> the day.N.MASC.SG.ABS the seventh.ORD:MASC.SG.ABS
	Crimean Karaim
	<i>ol üčünjî kün+dä</i> the third day+LOC
	Halitch
	<i>ol icinci kin+de</i> the third day+LOC
	Göz. 1841
	<i>ol üčünjî gün+dä</i> the third day+LOC

2.2. The Plural Suffix After the Cardinal Numbers

In the Lev of the Göz. 1841, the cardinal numbers were followed by both plural and singular forms. The plural nouns after the cardinal numbers are very unusual for the Turkic languages. This phenomenon has been considered as a Slavonic influence on Karaim as well.²⁵ However, the oppositions in the corpus are usually related to the Biblical Hebrew usages. For instances, if the Hebrew expression does not contain any numeral for ‘two’ but a dual form of the noun, the nouns which are modified by the numeral *eki* ‘two’ appear in the singular form whereas the Hebrew expressions including ‘two’, are rendered by nouns that have a plural suffix in the Lev of the Göz. 1841.

Table 7: *The numeral two followed by a noun in the corpus*

Lev	Hebrew Bible	Göz. 1841	Tur. Bible (2002)
5:7	<i>šatê tōrîm</i> two.CARD:FEM.DUAL.CONST turtledove.N:FEM.PL.ABS ‘two turtledoves’	<i>eki kumru+lar</i> two turtledove+PL ‘two turtledoves’	<i>iki kumru</i> two turtledove ‘two turtledoves’
12:5	<i>šəbu‘ayim</i> week.MASC.DUAL.ABS ‘two weeks’	<i>eki hafta</i> two week ‘two weeks’	<i>iki hafta</i> two week ‘two weeks’

Besides, in the Biblical Hebrew, the numerals from three to nineteen, the Hebrew enumerated noun is usually in the plural.²⁶ This feature can also be attested in the corpus.

²⁴ Olach, “Bibliiai héber hatások a karaim nyelvü bibliafordításokban,” 283–290.

²⁵ Berta, “West Kipchak Languages,” 306.

²⁶ Waltke and O’Connor, *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax*, 278–279.

Table 8: *The numerals which are followed by plural nouns in the Lev of Göz. 1841*

Lev	Hebrew Bible	Göz. 1841	Tur. Bible (2002)
19:23	<i>šālōš šānîm</i> three.CARD:FEM.SG.ABS year.N:FEM.PL.ABS 'three years'	<i>üç yıl+lar</i> three year+PL 'three years'	<i>üç yıl</i> three year 'three years'
25:3	<i>šeš šānîm</i> six.CARD:FEM.SG.CONST year.N:FEM.PL.ABS	<i>altî yıl+lar</i> six year+PL 'six years'	<i>altı yıl</i> six year 'six years'
4:6	<i>šeḇa' pə'āmîm</i> seven.CARD:FEM.SG.ABS occurrence.N:FEM.PL.ABS 'seven times'	<i>y(e)di</i> <i>kerät+lär</i> seven time+PL 'seven times'	<i>yedi kez</i> seven time 'seven times'

The corpus also represent another Biblical Hebrew influence as the higher numeral expressions such as tens and higher cardinals can be followed by both the singular and plural of the noun.²⁷

Table 9: *The numeral expressions including tens and higher cardinals in the corpus*

Lev	Hebrew Bible	Göz. 1841	Tur. Bible (2002)
26:26	<i>'ešer nāšîm</i> ten.CARD:FEM.SG.CONST woman.N:FEM.PL.ABS 'ten women'	<i>on atîn+lar</i> ten woman+PL 'ten women'	<i>on kadın</i> ten woman 'ten women'
27:25	<i>'ešrîm gêrah</i> ten.CARD:BOTH.PL.ABS gerah.N:FEM.SG.ABS 'twenty gerahs' ²⁸	<i>yigirmi</i> <i>čegirdäk</i> twenty grain 'twenty grains'	<i>yirmi gera</i> twenty gerah 'twenty gerahs'
23:16	<i>ḥāmiššîm yōwm</i> five.CARD:BOTH.PL.ABS day.N:MASC.SG.ABS 'fifty days'	<i>elli gün</i> fifty day 'fifty days'	<i>elli gün</i> fifty day 'fifty days'

In many Karaim Bible translations, the mixed usages of the plural suffix *-lar* after the numerals can be attested as a Biblical Hebrew influence.

²⁷ Ibid. 280–283.

²⁸ It denotes 'one-twentieth of shekel' which was a measure of weight.

Table 10: *The mixed usage of the plural suffix in other Karaim Bible translations*

Halitch	Trakai	Crimean
yędi kiz+lar seven girl+PL 'seven girls' (Exo 2:16)	įedi uvuŋ+lar seven son+PL (Job 1:2) 'seven sons'	altmiš altı kün+lär sixty six day+PL (Lev 12:5) 'sixty six days'
altimis sahar sixty city 'sixty cities' (Deut 3:4)	įuž kyr □ it hundred forty year 'hundred forty years' (Job 42:16)	eki iŋir two evening 'two evenings' (Lev 23:5)

2.3. The Paronomastic Usage

In Biblical Hebrew, 'infinitive absolute+finite verb (usually same verb)' construction has an intensifying function.²⁹ The so-called paronomastic use is usually rendered by an adverb 'certainly, surely, etc.' in other languages. However, due to its literal method, this structure was rendered by the 'infinitive + finite' in the corpus.

Table 11: *The paronomastic usage in the corpus*

Lev	Hebrew Bible	Eng. Bible (NAS)
7:24	<i>āḱōl lō ʾōḱəluhū</i> to eat.V:QAL.INF.ABS not.NEG to eat.V:QAL.IMP.MASC2PL.MASC3SG 'you shall not eat'	but you must certainly not eat it.
	Göz. 1841	
	<i>aša-ma aša-ma-ŋiž</i> to eat-INF to eat-NEG-IMP2PL 'to eat, do not eat'	
	Tur. Bible (2002) <i>hiçbir zaman yen-me-meli</i> never to be eaten-NEG-NEC.3SG 'it should never be eaten'	

This non-Turkic structure can be attested in many different Karaim Bible translations as well.

Table 12: *The paronomastic use in other Karaim Bible Translations*

Halitch	Trakai	Crimean
<i>asama asamaniz</i> 'to eat-INF to eat-NEG-2PL.IMP (Lev 7:24) 'to eat, do not eat'	<i>öl-ma öl-maš-siž</i> to die-INF to die-NEG.R.NPST-2PL (Gen 3:4) 'to die, you do not die'	<i>ašama ašamaniz</i> 'to eat-INF to eat-NEG-2PL.IMP (Lev 7:4) 'to eat, do not eat'

²⁹ Waltke and O'Connor, *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax*, 585–586.

2.4. Syntax

2.4.1. The Word Order in Genitive Constructions

In Turkic languages, the order of the elements in a genitive construction is ‘possessor+possessed item’.³⁰ However, the corpus always shows the inverse order which was attributed to both Hebrew syntax and Slavonic influence.³¹

Table 13: *The possessive constructions*

Lev	Hebrew Bible	Eng. Bible (NAS)
9:6	<i>kəḇōwḏ Yahweh</i> glory.N:MASC.SG.CONST Jehovah.N ‘possessed item+possessor’	the glory of the Lord
	Göz. 1841	
	<i>kavod+î H+nîḡ</i> dignity+3SG.POSS Lord+GEN ‘possessed item+possessor’	
	Tur. Bible 2002 <i>Rabb+in yüceliğ+i</i> Lord+GEN dignity+3SG.POSS ‘possessor+possessed item’	

According to Csátó,³² this feature also exists in spoken Karaim. It rather goes back to a typological areal feature which has also been attested in Gagauz which is another Turkic Language. However, she has also claimed that the Turkic order in genitive constructions might even be dominant against the non-Turkic order in some stylistic variants (mainly in pre-war written language).³³ For instances, the presumably oldest manuscript (MS Evr. I 143) usually presents the Turkic ‘possessor + possessed’ structure, e.g. *Yisra’el ulanlarına* ‘to the sons of Israel’, *sıǵır balasını* ‘the young of cattle’ as opposed to *oǵlanlarına Yisra’elnin, balasın ol sıǵırnın* in other manuscripts.³⁴ However, this non-Turkic order is so common in available Karaim Bible translations.

Table 14: *The inverse order of the genitive constructions in Karaim Bible translations*

Halitch	Trakai	Crimean
<i>ubul+lar+i+nq yişra’el+nin</i> son+PL+POSS.3SG+DAT Israel+GEN (Lev 7:23)	<i>avaz+y kan+lar+i+nin</i> <i>karindas+in+nin</i> voice:POSS.3SG blood+PL+POSS.3SG+GEN brother+POSS.2SG+GEN	<i>oǵlan+lar+î+na</i> <i>Yişra’el+nîḡ</i> son+PL+3SG.POSS+DAT Israel+GEN

³⁰ Johanson, “The Structure of Turkic,” 49–50.

³¹ Kowalski, *Karaimische Texte im Dialekt von Troki*, xxxviii–xxxix.; Olach, *A Halich Karaim translation*, 153–154.; Csátó, “Word order properties in Trakai Karaim biblical translations,” 177–178.

³² Csátó, “Word order properties in Trakai Karaim biblical translations,” 177–178.

³³ Csátó, “Syntactic code-copying in Karaim,” 276.

³⁴ Jankowski, “Translation of the Tanakh into Crimean Karaim,” 55–56.

2.4.2. Word Order in Sentences

The simple sentences in the Lev of the Göz. 1841 does not show the typical Turkic word order SOV and strictly follows the Biblical Hebrew VSO order. However, it is worth noting that the relatively free SVO word order exists in spoken Karaim as another areal typological feature which can also be attested in Gagauz.³⁵

Table 15: *The Biblical Hebrew order in the corpus*

Lev	Hebrew Bible	Eng. Bible (NAS)
8:10	<i>wayyiqqah – mōšeh – 'et-šemen – hammišhāh</i> And took – Moses – oil – the anointing	Moses then took the anointing oil
	Göz. 1841	
	<i>da – aldī – Moše – ol silmäk yağini</i> and – he took – the anointing oil	
	Tur. Bible (2002)	
	<i>sonra – mesh yağını – aldi</i> then – anointed oil – (he) took	

In imperative sentences, the word order once again follows the Hebrew Bible order since the predicate usually occurs before the subject in Biblical Hebrew.

Table 16: *The word order in imperative sentences*

Lev	Hebrew Bible	Eng. Bible (NAS)
23:10	<i>dabbêr – 'el-bənê – Yiśrā'êl</i> speak – to the sons – of Israel	speak to the sons of Israel
	Göz. 1841	
	<i>sözlägin – oğlanlarına – Yiśra'elnin</i> speak – to sons of – Israel	
	Tur. Bible (2002)	
	<i>İsrail halkına – de</i> to people of Israel – say	

In the corpus, another literal way of translation appears on the Biblical Hebrew conjunctions. For instance, the Hebrew *wa-* ‘and; but; therefore; as; since; seeing; while; whereas; although’,³⁶ was strictly translated with *da* and *ve/vä*³⁷ which stand only for ‘and’.³⁸ Thence, the basic sentences usually begin and connect each other with *da* and *ve/vä* ‘and’ which clearly shows the literal method of translation in the corpus. Below, the Hebrew conjunction *wa-* stands for ‘but’ and ‘that’ in a complex sentence whereas they were rendered by *da* ‘and’ in the corpus.

³⁵ Csátó, “Syntactic code-copying in Karaim,” 177.

³⁶ Klein, *Comprehensive Etymological Dictionary of the Hebrew*, 189.

³⁷ Note that, in the Book, only in Chapter 11 the conj. ‘*ve/vä*’ occurs instead of *da* which is the Arabic equivalent and can be found in Ottoman and modern Turkish as well.

³⁸ Aqtay and Jankowski, *A Crimean Karaim-English Dictionary*, 130/437.

Table 17: *The slavish rendering of the Hebrew conjunction wa-*

Lev	Hebrew Bible	Eng. Bible (NAS)
25:36	<i>'al-tiqqaḥ – mē'ittōw– nešek – wətarbît – wəyārêṭā – mē'lōheḱā – wəḥê – 'āḥikā – 'immāk.</i> no take – from him – usury – or interest – but fear – your God – that may live – your brother – with you	do not take usurious interest from him, but revere your God, that your countryman may live with you.
	Göz. 1841	
	<i>almağın – yanından – faiz – ne – mamele faizni – da – qorkqın Teğriñizdän – da – geçinsin – qardaşın – birgäñä</i> do not take – from her/his side – interest – or – usury interest – and – fear – from your God – and – she/he shall live on – your brother – along with you	
	Tur. Bible (2002) <i>ondan – faiz – ve – kâr – alma. Tanrın'dan – kork ki, – kardeşin – yanında – yaşamını – sürdürebilsin.</i> from her/him – interest – and – usury – do not take. – From your God – fear – (so) that – your brother – along with you – her/his life – he shall be able to live on.	

The literal translation of Biblical Hebrew *wa-* has also been attested in other Karaim Bible translations as well.

Table 18: *The Hebrew conjunction wa- in other Karaim Bible translations*

Num	WTT Hebrew	Eng. Bible (NAS)
11:18	<i>wənāṭan – Yahweh – lākem – bāšār</i> therefore will give – Yahweh – you – meat	therefore the LORD will give you flesh
	Halitch	
	<i>dā – berir – Ha – šizge – et</i> and – gives – the Lord – to you – meat	
	Crimean <i>da – berir – H – sizgü – et</i> and – gives – the Lord – to you – meat	

In Biblical Hebrew, another common conjunction appears as *kî* which stands for 'that; because; when; while; as; if; in case; although; though; since; that is; because'.³⁹ In the Lev of the Göz. 1841, this conjunction was rendered by *ki* 'for; since; because'⁴⁰ as well. It is

³⁹ Klein, *Comprehensive Etymological Dictionary of the Hebrew*, 275.

⁴⁰ Aqtay and Jankowski, *A Crimean Karaim-English Dictionary*, 210.

worth noting that, the conjunction *ki* also has different functions in the corpus since the homonymous Persian *ki* means ‘which; that’⁴¹ and it is commonly used in some other Turkic languages to form relative pronouns.

Table 19: *The Hebrew kî in the corpus*

Lev	Hebrew Bible	Eng. Bible (NAS)
11:44	<i>kî – ’ănî – Yahweh – ’ēlōhêkē</i> For – I – Yahweh (am) – your God	For I am the lord of your God.
	Göz. 1841	
	<i>ki – men – min – Ha – Teŋriŋiz</i> for – I – am – the Lord – your God	
	Tur. Bible (2002) <i>Tanrınız – RAB – benim</i> Your God – the Lord – I am	

As it can be seen, once again a Hebrew Bible word order in the corpus can be attested since the nominal predicate stands before the subject to emphasize the subject.

In complex sentences of Biblical Hebrew, the Hebrew *’ăšer* ‘(pron.) who, which, that, that which; (conj.) in order that’⁴² often appears and has usually been denoted by *ki* in the corpus. Therewithal, the subordinate clauses that were introduced by *ki* are in their postpositional place in the sentences, and they follow the main clauses as a non-Turkic feature.

Table 20: *The complex sentences in the corpus*

Lev	Hebrew Bible	Eng. Bible (NAS)
4:14	<i>wənōwd’āh – haḥaṭṭā’ – ’ăšer – ḥāṭə’ū – ’ālehā</i> and when becomes known – the sin – which – they have committed – upon	when the sin which they have committed becomes known
	Göz. 1841	
	<i>da – bilinsä – ol yazıķ – ki – yazıķ boldılar – anıŋ – uĉun</i> and – if it is known – the sin – which – (they) became sin – it – for	
	Tur. Bible (2002) <i>işlediği – günah – açığa çıkınca</i> the thing that (she/he) committed – the sin – when it is disclosed	

⁴¹ Ibid.⁴² Ibid. 59.

2.5. Vocabulary

In the corpus there exist 87 word of Hebrew origin. These words are mostly related to religious terms or proper names. Below some of them can be found.

Table 21: *Some Hebrew origin words in the corpus*

Meanings	Göz. 1841	Biblical Hebrew
'Karaite or Rabbanite congregation', ⁴³	<i>kahal</i> (Lev: 4:14)	<i>qāhāl</i>
'the Day of Atonement', ⁴⁴	<i>kipur</i> ⁴⁵ (Lev 25:9)	<i>kippur</i>
'priest', ⁴⁶	<i>kohen</i> (Lev 1:5)	<i>kōhên</i>
'offering, oblation, sacrifice', ⁴⁷	<i>minḥa</i> (Lev 2:1)	<i>minḥāh</i>

The examples demonstrate that 95% of the Hebrew origin examples are nominals whereas there exist four verbals that do not occur in the common Karaim dictionaries. In three examples Hebrew nominals were used by Turkic auxiliary verb *et-*.

Table 22: *The Hebrew nominal which were attached by Turkic auxiliary verb*

Hebrew word	Göz. 1841
<i>ḥag̃</i> : feast, festival ⁴⁸	<i>ḥag et-</i> 'to make feast' (Lev 23:39)
<i>qārbān</i> : 1. offering, sacrifice, oblation. 2. victim. ⁴⁹	<i>qarban et-</i> 'to make a sacrifice' (Lev 17:5)
<i>piggūl</i> : foul thing, refuse (used esp. in the sense of an abominated or rejected sacrifice). ⁵⁰	<i>paul et-</i> 'to make abominable' (Lev 21:9)

In one occasion, a Hebrew verb first was attached by the Turkic nominal suffix *-lik* then the Turkic auxiliary verb *et-*:

Table 23: *The Hebrew nominal which was attached by Turkic nominal suffix -lik and auxiliary verb*

Hebrew word	Göz. 1841
<i>nō'êp̄</i> : 'to commit adultery', ⁵¹	<i>no'eplik et-</i> 'to commit adultery' (Lev 20:10)

⁴³ Ibid. 283–284.

⁴⁴ Ibid. 213.

⁴⁵ The word has been listed as *kippur* in ibid. 213.

⁴⁶ Ibid. 215.

⁴⁷ Ibid. 244.

⁴⁸ Klein, *Comprehensive Etymological Dictionary of the Hebrew*, 207.

⁴⁹ Ibid. 591.

⁵⁰ Ibid. 493.

⁵¹ Ibid. 400.

Conclusion

In this article, some Hebrew influences in the Lev of the Göz.1841 were demonstrated. Some of the Biblical Hebrew features can also be attributed to Slavonic influence, e.g. the inverse order of genitive constructions, VSO word order, the plural suffix in following nouns after the numerals. However, regarding the demonstrated features, the non-Turkic features are usually present the Biblical Hebrew influence, e.g. word by word translation of the Hebrew definite article, conjunctions, syntax, paronomastic usage, and the plural suffixes in nouns after the cardinals. On the contrary, the lexicon consists of predominant Turkic elements.

It is worth noting that, in some chapters, the Lev of the Göz. 1841 shows highly predominant Oghuzic characteristics. Most of the Kipchak features were altered with the Oghuzic counterparts. Nevertheless, the common Biblical Hebrew characteristics which are unfamiliar to Turkic languages were strictly preserved in such chapters of the corpus as well. Thence, the translator or translators of the Lev of the Göz. 1841 has or have strictly followed the traditional literal translating method similar to the relatively late translations.

Abbreviations

Biblical Books

Deut	The Book of
Deuteronomy	
Exo	The Book of Exodus
Gen	The Book of Genesis
Lev	Book of Leviticus
Num	Book of Numbers

Linguistics

2	Second Person
3	Third Person
ABS	Absolute state
ACC	Accusative
ACC	Accusative
BOTH	Common gender
CARD	Cardinal numeral
Conj	Conjunction
CONST	Construct state
DAT	Dative marker
DEM	Demonstrative pronoun
DUAL	Dual
Eng	English
FEM	Feminine

GEN	Genitive
IMP	Imperative
INF	Infinitive
LOC	Locative
MASC	Masculine
N	Noun
NAS	New American
Standard Bible with Codes (1977)	
NEC	Necessity
NEG	Negative
O	Object
ORD	Ordinal numeral
PL	Plural
POSS	Possessive
Pro	Pronoun
PRON	Pronoun
PTCL	Particle
QAL	Verb form <i>qal</i>
R.NPST	Non-past in <i>-(V)r</i>
S	Subject
SG	Singular
Tur.	Turkish
V	Verb

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Some Biblical Hebrew Influence on the Karaim Bible Translations: The Book of Leviticus, Gözleve Bible (1841)

The Karaims are a Turkic community living in Eastern Europe who are the followers of Karaism/Karaite Judaism. Their faith acknowledges the Tanakh as the sole source whereas it does not recognize the Talmud which is the written collection of the oral tradition. Thence, starting from the early periods, the Hebrew Bible has long been translated into the Karaim language. Such translations are important to demonstrate the features of the highly endangered Karaim language that belongs to the Kipchak (North-Western) group of the Turkic languages. Thus, after a long hiatus, scholars have developed a renewed interest in Karaim Bible translations as well. However, these translations show some common Hebrew characteristics that mainly appear on morphological and syntactic structures whereas they usually do not occur in the spoken language. In this regard, the present study is going to present such Hebrew influences that occur in the Book of Leviticus of the so-called Gözleve Bible (1841) which was published in Crimea in an extinct Eastern variety of Karaim Language (Crimean Karaim).

Austria-Hungary and the Albanian Project

A Comparative Case Study: Between support and imperialism

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Introduction

The Decisions of the Congress of Berlin in 1878 molded a new map of the Balkans, where the insurgencies, revolts and discontent of the natives and Ottoman authorities were constant. Between attrition and expansion, Austria-Hungary thought to pursue a policy of “peaceful penetration”, where a possible exit to Thessaloniki would have secured the long-sought dream of a gateway in the riches of the Orient. In this prospect after the oppression of the Albanian League of Prizren in 1878, the diplomatic missions of Danubian Monarchy started to show more interest to the Albanian political element.

The diplomats in the Ballhausplatz foresaw a possible collapse of the Ottoman Empire and this prediction became a sour reality during the Crete Crisis and the Greek-Ottoman War in 1896/1897. At the same time the uncertainties grew from the possible cooperation of the Serbian-Montenegrin forces along with the Italians in the Western Balkans. In order to remedy this situation and to put the entire Albanian policy of the Monarchy on a broader and more successful basis, were organized three secret conferences (political readings). The possible triggers for these confidential discussions were the current Crete crisis in 1896 and two memorandums from two prominent southern Albanian Muslim notables, Ferit Bey Vlora (ex-Grand Vizier of the Sublime Porte) and his brother Syrja Bey Vlora addressed to Ballhausplatz in the same year, through the mediation of the Austro-Hungarian ambassador in Constantinople Heinrich von Calice. If the Viennese “Albanian Action” would have been successful, the Monarchy would have established a protectorate over the Albanian territories while maintaining Ottoman sovereignty and driven a wedge between Montenegro and Serbia by means of the western Sandshak of Novipazar.

Two decades later in 1916, the situation in the peninsula had changed drastically, where the “peaceful penetration” policy had surrendered to the force of arms. Two Balkan Wars, the decisions of the London Treaty and the entry into the Great War after the assassination of the *Thronfolger* in Sarajevo, had reframed the geopolitical objectives and interests of the Monarchy in the area. Albania had won the independence after many deliberations and bargains over her borders, later to fall into a civil war in 1914-1916. Austria-Hungary in the same prospect had struggled in a war in three different fronts: Italy, Russia and the Balkans. After three Austro-Hungarian offensives, the end of 1915 brought greater military and diplomatic success for the Central Powers, with the entry of Bulgaria in the war on 14th of October 1915 and the fall of Serbia along with the expected conquest of Montenegro.

Following these military victories, in early 1916 it was organized the meeting of Councils of Ministers for the Commons Affairs (GMR). In this meeting the joint Ministers made a number of adjustments to the *War Aims* initially proposed on the GMR of 19th of June 1914, and subsequently dealt with a number of issues, such as the legal base and administration method of the new conquered areas. The main debated topics were those related with the Austro-Hungarian imperial policies over Poland and Serbia. Leading to the question of how to deal with the Slavic population of the newly acquired territories, it was brought up the Albanian problem and a possible reshaping of her territories and status as an independent state.

Secret Conferences of 1896

Between 17th of November and 23rd of December 1896, were organized three secret conferences in the Ballhausplatz in Vienna, the outcome of which was a Memorandum and a new position regarding the Austro-Hungarian foreign policy in South-Eastern Europe. Under the title "*Eine energische Aktion*" the secret sessions lead by the Joint Foreign Minister, Count Agenor Gołuchowski, proposed the creation of an independent Principality of Albania.¹ Following the tradition of the Ministerium des Äußern (MdÄ), the conferences were held secretly, especially due to the sensitive nature of the policies discussed. The other institutional bodies, such as the respective parliaments and governments, were informed in a later date via formal acts on the position of the Ministry and its organs.

The following actors took part in the conference: Joint Foreign Minister Agenor Gołuchowski, the Joint Finance Minister Benjámín Kállay, the ex-minister and extraordinary ambassador Erich Zwiedineck, the Head of Section for the Orient in MdÄ Eduard Horowitz, the General Consul Norbert Schmucker, and the Consul Constantin Baum acting as secretary for the three conferences. Beside the participants, in the second and third conference took part also von Fuchs as diplomat and adviser for the K.u.K court.

1st Secret meeting (17th of November 1896)

The first speaker of this secret session was the Joint Foreign Minister Gołuchowski. He initially made a statement on the foreign policy of Austria-Hungary toward the Balkan areas. After the decisions of the Congress of Berlin and a number of incidents in the region, it was projected that the Ottoman rule over *Rumeli* could not be sustained for long. In case the territories would be dismantled from competing Great Powers, an analysis of the interests of the Danube Monarchy had to be assessed. Of great relevance was the position of the Albanian Catholic populations of the north and the Muslim ones in the south, and in the opinion of Gołuchowski, these Albanian speaking territories should be independent in the form of a principality under the protectorate of Austria-Hungary.²

¹ HHStA, PA I, k. 473. See also the wonderful book of T.Toleva *Der Einfluss Österreich-Ungarns auf die Bildung der albanischen Nation 1896–1908*, and the analyzes done by the book of K. Gostentschnigg, *Wissenschaft im Spannungsfeld von Politik und Militär*, 347–357.

² Ibid. k. 473.

In the opinion of the minister, Vienna should not be unprepared if the rule of the Ottoman authorities in the area cease to exist. The interest of the rivaling powers (Russian Empire and Italy) and the Balkan countries were known, and the power vacuum would soon be filled if the Monarchy would not act in advance. For this reason, the speaker advocated for further preparation in the diplomatic corpus in the area of interest. Additionally, it was proposed to test a possible cooperation with Greece. Her interests were well-known in the southern *vilayet* of Ioannina up to the Shkumbini River in central Albania. According to Gołuchowski, securing a possible agreement with the Greek counterpart could pose a barrier for the expanding influence and interest of Italy.

The second speaker of the conference was Joint Minister of Finance Kállay. In his opening statement he agreed with Gołuchowski on the geopolitical necessity of the Monarchy in having an independent Albania. But he underlined a number of difficulties for the realization of Albanian project. The main issues were related with the internal divisions between the Albanians (regional, linguistic and religious), the lack of a historical Albanian state in the past and the absence of a middle class, from where the social and political life was not subjected to small local personal interests.³

The action, on the other side was facilitated by a number of positive elements. The most important one was the rising belief among the Albanians that they could not endure as a nation without the "help of a Great Power".⁴ On the long run, with a proper strategy of action, the majority of Muslim Albanians, would understand, and accept that salvation for their current geopolitical situation would not come from Constantinople, but from the creation of an independent principality. The minister and other participants, held the view that the Catholics of the north wouldn't had any objections, since historically they had found support via the *Kultusprotektorat* of the Monarchy.

Kállay proposed a number of additional measures. He advised that initially the action had to be implemented in the Catholic areas, gradually and simultaneously to be introduced later on into the Muslim ones. It was pivotal that the measures shouldn't be seen by the Muslim community as an imperial Catholic action. The smuggling of weapons and ammunition had to continue, especially in the Kosovo and Shkoder *vilayets*, and by doing so, disrupting a possible cooperation of the mountainous tribes with the Montenegrin authorities against the Monarchy. Beside the weapon and propaganda support, a third pillar would had

³ HHStA, PA I, k. 473, Fol.100.

⁴ In 1896 the Albanian nobleman Surya (alb. Syrja) Bey Vlora, the brother of the previous Ottoman Grand vizier Ferit Bey, wrote a Memorandum addressed to the Ministerium des Äußern. In his memo, Surya Bey posed the view that the rule of the Ottomans would fall soon in the Balkans and the Albanians needed to seek the support of a new Great Power to help them elevate as a nation. A part from his memorandum: "We the Albanians, know very well that sooner or later the Turkish rule in Europe will end. The Epirotes will be taken by Greece, the Bulgarians as well from Bulgaria and the Serbians will go to Serbia or Montenegro. What about us, the Albanians, what it will happen? As I know well the soul of my fellow Albanian patriots, we will be favorized if we fall under the protectorate of Austria-Hungary, through the creation of an autonomous province. Italy has never been popular among us, despite the propaganda of some priests and Italian diplomats in Albania. If we as Muslim must be integrated under a foreign government, because for the moment we do not possess the necessary maturity to establish an independent Albania, we prefer Austria-Hungary over any other foreign power. Even the lowest strata of our people know until what point the Austro-Hungarian government respects our religions and customs." Ibid. Fol. 173.

been the wide financial and material support for the Albanian leaders [done discreetly to the Ottoman authorities], who would agree with the course of action proposed by Ballhausplatz.

Regarding the cooperation with Greece for a joint policy toward Albania, Zwiedineck argued that the vilayet of Ioannina had to be excluded from the course of action, because the Hellenization process was in an advanced phase. Kállay in principle accepted the proposition for a cooperation with Greece. But before excluding the *vilayet* of Ioannina from the course of action, he wanted to test in reality how strong was the Greek influence in the Albanian speaking areas of Epirus.

2nd secret meeting (8th of December 1896)

The previous conference was concluded with the assignment of Schmucker and Zwiedineck to the task of producing a concrete study in relation with the possibilities, circumstances and situation of the discussed areas. After three weeks, the two experts produced a report titled “*Memorandum über Albanien*”, which served as the main subject of analyzes of the second secret conference. The speaker for it was Zwiedineck and it was comprised into three main topics: the action area, the political and national conditions of Albania and finally the action measures.

The action area:

According to Zwiedineck, there was no clear political and geographical territories, where the Albanians were localized as political-administrative entity in the Ottoman territories in the Balkans. Under this auspice, the imperial authorities had to draw imaginary lines on areas where the Albanian element among the population was dominant. In this regard, in the north, the border passed through Montenegro and Bosnia, and partially in the southern part of Serbia, while the Adriatic Sea served as a natural border in the west. In the east, it was defined by the line Kostur – Manastir – Ohri – Vrranjë – Prishtinë – Novipazar, while the southerner border run along the line Preveza – Ioannina– Gjirokastër – Kostur.

The total population of the four Albanian *vilayets* was around 2.5 million inhabitants, according to the statistics of the Ballhausplatz. There were used two principles in the records: nationality and religion, and the Albanians were respectively 43% of the total population (around 1.1 million people),⁵ and none of the other nationalities passed this majority in any of the *vilayets*.

Zwiedineck continued his report in front of the other representatives by passing to the other element of analysis.⁶ The nation was comprised by two ethno-linguistic groups:

1) the *Gegë*, who were concentrated in majority on the *Vilayets* of Kosovo, Shkodra and Manastir, and used the Albanian dialect called *Gegërisht*. The *Gegë* were generally viewed as stronger physically, braver and with a stronger feeling of honor and independence. Their socio-economic structure was organized around the tribe (alb. *Fis*), and the areas where it was located. On top of the tribes stood as judge and military figures, the *Council of Elders*

⁵ HHStA, PA I, Fol. 170.

⁶ HHStA, PA I, K 473, Fol. 172 b.

or *Bayraktar* (Turkish for *Flag holder*), from where were taken the decisions of war and peace. Generally, they wrote their language in the Latin transcript among the Christians and by using mixed forms of Arabic-Ottoman Turkish transcripts among the Muslims. Among them, the main religious groups were the Catholic and the Sunni sect.

2) the *Toskë*, who were concentrated in majority in the *Vilayet* of Ioannina, were numerous after crossing the southern shore of the Shkumbini River and used the Albanian dialect called *Toskërisht*. Differently from the *Gegë*, they were characterized by three religious groups, two Muslim sects (the Sunni and the Bektashi) and the Christian orthodox sect. While the *Gegërisht* dialect was considered stronger and deeper into pronunciation, the *Toskërisht* dialect was softer and used generally Greek letters among the orthodox Albanians, and Arabic-Ottoman Turkish letters among the Muslims. The *Toskë* were viewed as more prone to foreign influence, and with deep penetration in the power courts in Greece and Ottoman Empire. The *Beys* of the south had more privileges in their respective areas of influence. Differently from the tribal lords of the north, there were visible clear distinctions on socio-economical terms between poor and rich Muslims. This characteristic made them more pragmatic and more dangerous to control. Under this auspice, the Baron proposed that the *Toskë*, would be excluded from the activity of the action plan.

Table 1. Demographic data from the report “Memorandum über Albanien”

Vilayets\Data	Surface area in km ²	Population		Religious affiliation		
		Total	Albanians	Muslim	Catholics	Orthodox
Shkodra ⁷	8190	241000	222000 (91.2%)	140000 (63%)	82000 (37%)	-
Kosovo ⁸	32000	865000	276000 (31.9%)	251000 (90.9%)	25000 (9.1%) ⁹	
Monastir ¹⁰ (Bitola)	32000	890000	250000 (28.1%)	250000 (100%)	-	-
Ioannina ¹¹ (Janina)	16664	510000	330000 (64.7%)	Approx.220000 (66.6%)	-	Approx.110000 (33.3%) ¹²
Total ¹³	88854	2506000	1078000 (43%)	861000 (79.8%)	Approx. 102000	Approx. 60000

⁷ Ibid. Fol. 170.

⁸ HHStA, PA I, K 473, Fol. 171 and 171 b.

⁹ Unclear the disposition of the believers between the two Christian sects.

¹⁰ Ibid. Fol. 171 b.

¹¹ HHStA, PA I, K 473, Fol. 172.

¹² The religious disposition of the Muslim and Orthodox community (Albanians) of Ioannina is unclear. The authorities couldn't distinguish between the Greek Orthodox, the Hellenized Orthodox Albanians and the Nationalist Orthodox Albanians, so approximately the Ballhausplatz judged that 1/3 of the population was Orthodox and the rest Muslim.

¹³ Regarding the religion affiliation, it's was difficult to do an assessment regarding the Albanian element, but the authorities calculated that 78-79% were Muslim and 21-22% were Christians, respectively 102000 Catholics and 60000 orthodox. The data between single invoices and total number differs, showing that the demographic sources Austria-Hungary had, were incomplete and approximative. HHStA, PA I, K 473, Fol. 170.

According to the analyzes, the two groups were foreign to each other in many elements, but there was no sign of hostility among them. No form of compact unity in nationalistic terms was evident between the two groups, while no political goal or common interest was visible. But, despite the many differences, the two groups had an agreement in broader political lines for an autonomous unified Albanian province.¹⁴ The continuous threat perceived generally by the Albanians from the interventions of the Russian Empire in the peninsula, had formed even among the loyal Muslim elements, the belief that the Austro-Hungarians would be their natural allies, in order to block “*the rising hated slavs*”,¹⁵ in case the Sublime Porte fails to protect them.

Zwiedineck based on the premises mentioned above, drove three general conclusions: 1) the Catholics of the north supported Austria-Hungary, 2) the orthodox of the south were oriented toward Greece and 3) the Muslims were loyal subjects to the government. This loyalty generally stemmed from two factors: the idea that Turkish rule was the only rule where their freedoms and privileges were secured and their social benefits would not be taken away; secondly, the religious imposition toward a Christian foreign power.¹⁶

As a final remark of this part of the report, from the reports of the former General consul in Shkodra Lippich¹⁷, the main difficulty of communication between the south and the north stemmed from the lack of a unified language and alphabet. The absence of this instrument had been detrimental toward the political goal of unification by the Dual Monarchy, and was accepted as a problem that had to be solved beforehand.¹⁸

The action measures:

The first proposed measure was the creation of a propaganda in the Albanian *vilayets*, that Austria-Hungary had no desire for territorial expansion in the mentioned areas. The goal was to promote the idea that the Monarchy was “*a supporter and protector of the Albanian people in case of the fall of the Ottoman Empire, [...] because [the action] it's not about the invasion of their land by our side, but for defending and helping their endeavor for the creation of an autonomous Albania*”.¹⁹ For this reason, three sets of propositions were presented in order to raise the influence of Austria-Hungary among the Albanians: a) to the Catholic community²⁰, b) toward the Muslim community²¹, c) for the general public.²² The actions toward these three specific social communities were addressed in order to win their favorable support, mainly by giving regular payments to influential leaders, gifts, humani-

¹⁴ Ibid. Fol. 172 b.

¹⁵ HHStA, PA I, K 473, Fol. 173.

¹⁶ Ibid. Fol. 173 b.

¹⁷ Friedrich Lippich (1834–1888), served for 15 years (1864–1879) in the Albanian-speaking vilayets as vice-chancellor up to the status of General consul in Shkodra. His insight was valuable for the officials to produce the report of the conference. See E. Deusch, *Die effektiven Konsuln Österreich-(Ungarns) von 1825-1918*, 432–433.

¹⁸ HHStA, PA I, K 473, Fol. 174 b.

¹⁹ Ibid. Fol. 175.

²⁰ Ibid. Fol. 180.

²¹ Ibid. Fol. 181.

²² Ibid. Fol. 180.

tarian aids, and a wider and more public interaction of the Austro-Hungarian consuls into the areas proposed by the plan.

Zwiedineck pointed also in his report to test of the actual political conditions among the Albanians. This measure was advised in order to prove if the minimal conditions existed, for the creation of an Albanian autonomous state, and if there were tools in order to protect it.

Later on, he analyzed the current situation of the religious Catholic mission in Albania, safeguarded by Austria-Hungary under the legal Status of *Kultusprotektorat*.²³ In his analyzes, the primary interlocutors for the action, especially in the mountainous areas, were the Catholic priests. With the religious center in Shkodra, the religious Catholic mission in Albania was organized in the following manner: 1 - the Archbishop seat in Shkodra (with the diocese of Pult, Sapa and Alessio); 2 - the Abbey of Saint Alexander (alb. Shën Aleksandri) in Mirditë; 3 - the Archdiocese of Durrës; 4 - the Archdiocese of Uskub (alb. Shkup).

The clerical body was divided among the laic and monastic religious elements, where the main ones were the Franciscan and Jesuit orders. They were assisted also by the Stigmata Nuns and Charity Sisters in Prizren. The secular elements used to preach in the cities, fields and valleys near the urban areas, while the Franciscans were active in the mountainous areas, and rarely were seen in the lower lands. Stationed in Troshan, they were teachers for the *novices* and had a school for boys in Shkodra.²⁴ The Jesuit Order was more active in the urban areas, and generally preached in the streets and rarely in the churches. The Order was in charge of the education in the religious seminar and the trade school in Shkodra.²⁵

After the contextual remarks, Zwiedineck pointed out that the clerical attitude toward Austria-Hungary despite the continuous help of the Monarchy, had been disappointing. Especially among the priests of different orders and different nationalities, the political agenda proposed by the Ballhausplatz, had been of second or tertiary relevance. The material and personal conflicts over hierarchical religious positions and benefits had stopped the creation of a unified national political view and its implementation among the northern Catholic tribesmen. The Albanian religious figures such as Don Primus Docci (alb. Preng Doçi) were constantly viewed as ambitious and dangerous personalities.²⁶ In this regards Zwiedineck viewed that the economical sacrifices done by the Danube Monarchy were in disproportion with the expected results. In his remarks he pointed out:

²³ Ibid. Fol. 176.

²⁴ According to Zwiedineck analyzes: "Despite that in general, the Franciscan missions have friendly attitude toward Austria-Hungary, it must be kept in consideration that the Italian propaganda has risen up among them in the last years. The Franciscans with Italian origin, despite they are grateful to the imperial and royal government (k.u.k), are first of all loyal toward Italy. [...] The Franciscans don't have a good relation with the Albanian clerics. At the same time, they consider the Jesuits as rivals. The Bosnian Franciscans of Troshan beside being honest, support the patriotic ideals and despite the difficulties, they have managed to preserve among the students appointed to the them, the loyalty toward the Monarchy." Ibid. Fol. 177 b.

²⁵ According to the analyzes of the baron: "...the Jesuits deal exclusively with the novices, so in principle they are distant toward any political activity; this is the reason why they don't try to instigate among the students the sympathy toward Austria-Hungary. They consider as help for their religious mission the support from the k.u.k. government, and they strictly forbid their (imperial) representatives to interfere in their program." HHStA, PA I, K 473, Fol. 176 b.

²⁶ Ibid. Fol. 177.

*“...if we want positive results and to continue to support economically the Catholic institutions in Albania to use them for our political action in the future, we must do some reforms that will secure us a greater influence over the clerics and their education system. It’s not about opening new routes of action, but using with effectivity all the resources, in favor of the political and religious activity in Albania.”*²⁷

Besides controlling directly the clerical educational and political agenda, the speaker suggested that this measure must go hand in hand with other instruments. The first one was that of finding, energetic and loyal figures in the positions of the bishops and archbishops, who had the intelligence, stability and full understanding of the current situation of the Albanian Catholic Church.²⁸ The Albanian and foreign clerics stationed there had shown little promise, so Zwiedineck proposed bringing candidates from Dalmatia, Istria and South Tirol.²⁹

Secondly, it was suggested to further indoctrinate the Albanian students in the religious institutions. According to him:

*“[...] for the last 10 years the Albanians had studied with the Jesuits under the expenses of the Austro-Hungarian state, [...] but after finishing their studies and vowing as priests, they show little gratitude and loyalty toward the cause. It is urgent that before vowing, these clerics must be sent to an Austrian or Hungarian seminar for further formation, where they will be indoctrinated in the interest of the Empire, and prepared as they should for their future obligation as priests.”*³⁰

This period of indoctrination would serve two purposes: firstly would lead the students to abandon or forget the foreign enemy agendas, and secondly familiarize the candidates with the political action of the Danube Monarchy.

Regarding the schools, it was vital to increase in quality and in number the available buildings and the staff, possibly bringing educators from the Monarchy, especially in the mountainous and rural areas. The clerics beside the religious duties toward their flocks of believers, had to do educational works and use curricula translated from the empire. More emphasis had to be shown toward the educational institutions for women.³¹

Regarding the material texts, especially newspapers in Albanian, it was thought primarily to use a publishing house in Vienna. But due to complications and the possibility of alienating different actors it was thought the usage of existing ones, especially the Albanian pamphlets and newspapers of the diaspora such as Bucharest and Borgo Erizzo near Zadar in Croatia. Unfortunately, the high illiteracy (around 99.5%) and the lack of a standardized

²⁷ Ibid. Fol. 178.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Ibid. Fol. 178 b.

³⁰ Ibid. Fol. 178.

³¹ According to Zwiedineck: “the role of the Albanian woman was ambivalent; in society, she had little socio-political relevance, but in the close courters of the house she was vital for the survival of the family.” Ibid.

language, diverted this idea toward printing pamphlets and writing articles by influential intellectual Albanians.³²

On the economic prospect the monarchy viewed, that a number of incentives must be brought forward in order to encourage the Albanian traders toward her own ports and trade hubs. Primarily the intellectual contacts would rise among the Albanians the desire to trade in the ports of Trieste and Venice. Later on, a number of financial incentives and privileges like lower trading tariffs and permission facilities, would had been allowed toward Albanian traders.³³

The last part of the memorandum discussed the reorganization of the consulates in Albania. The participants agreed that the number of diplomatic centers was low and had previously operated without major success. Therefore, new missions had to be opened and the existing ones had to be reorganized, while keeping an eye to the quality of the future diplomats. It was essential to introduce the Albanian language in the K.u.K. Academy of Eastern Studies. This action was considered fundamental, so that the future consuls would easily interact with the local population and familiarize with the area, its cultural customs and problems.³⁴

The 3rd secret meeting in Ballhausplatz on 23rd of December 1896, was briefer than the previous two, and the majority of the debates revolved on the matter of the Memorandum composed by Zwiedineck and Schmucker.³⁵ A number of additional propositions were made by the participants related generally with the increase on the number of clerics and nuns from the empire, and also into the new sets of requirements for the potential new candidate consuls. Nonetheless the new proposition remained solely optional, and the meeting was concluded with the signature of the acts from all the participants.³⁶

Gemeinsame Ministerrat (GMR) meeting of 1916

On 7th of January 1916, it was organized the meeting of the Councils of Ministers for the Commons Affairs (*Gemeinsame Ministerrat*), commonly labelled as GMR.³⁷ After the *Ausgleich* of 1867, the GMR served as a forum where the different power and policy makers gathered in order to propose and implement common solutions for the problems of the Empire, under the supervision of the Emperor. But generally, they were led by the Common Foreign Minister, who due to his constitutional position was considered and had taken, the role of Chancellor in the absence of the Monarch.³⁸

The following actors participated in the conference: as Chairman the Joint Foreign Minister István Burián, Austrian Prime Minister Karl Stürgkh, Hungarian Prime Minister István Tisza, Joint Finance Minister Ernest Koerber, Joint Minister of War Alexander von Kro-

³² Ibid. Fol. 179 b.

³³ Ibid. Fol. 180.

³⁴ The suggested offices of the Ballhausplatz proposed in Mitrovica, Tetovo, Prishtinë and Gjirokastër, after many debates were taken out of the proposal with the consideration as outside the viable reach of the action plan. Ibid. Fol. 181 b and 182.

³⁵ Ibid. Fol. 140.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ HHStA, KA KK Vorträge 6-1916, K.Zl. 526

³⁸ Williamson, *Austria-Hungary and the Origins of WWI*, 72–3.

batin, Chief of the General Staff Conrad Hötzendorf and as secretary for the meeting Legation Councilor Alexander Hoyos.³⁹

The opening statement was made by the Foreign Minister Burián, who pointed out that the primary goal of the conference was to secure a responsible and brilliant administration of the latest military victories. Nonetheless, he urged the participants to be calm and rational in their positions, advices and especially not to be partial. They had to take into consideration the interests of the whole Monarchy, and not one-sided goals. The positions had to be formulated upon legal and constitutional elements, and how to implement them with the current financial and military conditions. It was vital to agree toward a unanimous *War Aim Policy*⁴⁰, especially from the cooperation between the army command and the political branch. According to him:

*“At today’s conference, an attempt must be made to get an idea of how far the war goals can already be determined. The decisions resulting from such a determination could only be conditional, because their implementation naturally depends on the final success of the war. When making decisions, one must also consider future effects. Any solution could be won in a successful war by the power of arms, but in peace such violent solutions are often politically very harmful and put a heavy burden on the living conditions of a state.”*⁴¹

After initially discussing the Serbian problem, he proposed his idea regarding Albania. In his view:

*“it is absolutely necessary that the created independence of Albania is preserved, which is quite possible if to the country are given back those Albanian areas, that were lost to Serbia and Montenegro after the start of the Balkan wars. One should not be misled by the failure of the first attempt to establish an independent Albania. As a people, the Albanians had always expressed their will to live with the greatest tenacity and had also implemented it. The fact that their nationality, despite national fragmentation and the greatest arbitrariness in all traditional folk peculiarities has been preserved, shows the ability of the Albanians to live nationally.”*⁴²

Burián argued that according to the London Treaty of 1913, the country was not viable by itself (*stand on its own two feet*)⁴³. The reason was the implementation of unsuitable methods, only applicable to the European culture style states, in an area that had been ruled nominally for the last four centuries by an anemic Ottoman administration. The Treaty of 1913 had introduced international controlled institutions and by doing so, bypassing and

³⁹ Komjáthy, *Protokolle...*, 352–3.

⁴⁰ The War Aims were a set of military and political objectives for Austria-Hungary, sanctioned from the GMR meeting of 19/06/1914, after her entry into war. Due to the fluid nature of warfare, the Monarchy had to constantly to renew these objectives and the GMR meetings served as a medium for these discussions between the military and the executive branch.

⁴¹ Ibid. K. Zl. 526.

⁴² Komjáthy, *Protokolle*, 358.

⁴³ Ibid.

alienating customary based political organizations. A second reason for the initial failure of the Albanian experience was the rivalry with Italy. Despite an arranged political common agenda with the Italians, they had pursued from the beginning, an antagonizing approach toward the Austro-Hungarians interest in Albania.

The third argument of Burián analyzes for the failure of the Albanian State was appointing a weak monarch, such as Prince Wied. His inexperience on the Albanian matter, had created the space for political fermentation between rivaling inner and outer forces in the country. Possibly with a better ruler, the chances for success would be higher. He commented:

*"We would have to do this work by exercising an effective protectorate over Albania, not with the intention of appropriating this country, but with the desire to set it up on our own feet and to prevent any interference by third countries."*⁴⁴

Later on, Burián draw a parallel between the Russian protectorate over Bulgaria and the future Austro-Hungarian protectorate over Albania. If the primary role for the support from the Russian diplomacy to the Bulgarian's national aspiration was to use them as tool for further territorial aggrandizement toward the Ottoman Straits, the Albanian case was different:

*"the establishment and consolidation of the independence of a state, that serves its own life interests in accordance with our interests in the Balkans and must follow the conservative and purely defensive policies of the Central powers. Our policies in Albania could help us secure definite supremacy in the Balkans without falling into Russia's mistakes and using the country as a tool for any desire to expand."*⁴⁵

Further on Minister Burián argued its policy regarding the southern Albanian territories, namely by exchanging them for a political support with Greece. This proposition would favor the Albanians in two aspect: firstly, the lost territories would be compensated with enlargement into the Serbian and Montenegrin areas, and secondly this would lead the country toward a more peaceful and less conflictual relationship with the Greece⁴⁶. On the Greek position, this acquisition would mean controlling areas that were already subjected to Greek language and culture. Beside a territorial gain, this would had been a political card for those Greek politicians, who viewed the Central Powers as potential allies and wanted to preserve the neutrality of the country despite the interference of Entente.

Regarding Bulgaria, the minister had difficulties to accept a further expansion of the ally in the region, with a possibility to reach the Adriatic Shores. Despite the cordial relations, it was advised to stop any further Bulgarian flag waving outside the concorded areas of the agreements between the Central Powers. The reasons for this denial were of geo-strategic and practical logic:

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Burián stated: "The neighborhood with Greece also offers advantages to the Albanians, which means that they would be less isolated and a closer political relationship between the two countries could develop over time." Ibid. 358–9.

*“they [the Bulgarian politicians] are aware of the fact that Bulgaria will have enough difficult tasks to do in the near future, if Macedonia and the eastern part of Serbia will be assimilated. Bulgaria has access [ports] to the Aegean and Black Seas, which is sufficient for its economic development. If we let the Bulgarians to penetrate Albania, we would lose the advantages that we expect of an independent Albania for the monarchy.”*⁴⁷

The Italian adversary most probably wouldn't cease to pose a threat for the Monarchy in the Albanian areas, as much the Russians didn't stop after the failure in Bulgaria. If the risks would had been higher, the minister proposed an exit strategy, meaning a division of the country:

*“In any case, it was worth the effort to try the Albanian autonomy under Austro-Hungarian protectorate. If it failed, nothing would be lost and we could still resort to other means, although it would be cheaper to carry out the division with Greece alone [...] Northern Albania [in itself] would not be of benefit to the monarchy, [so] we would have to organize and administer the country in a completely different way, in order to make it equal to the other areas of the monarchy.”*⁴⁸

The next speaker was the Hungarian Prime Minister István Tisza, who generally agreed with the view of Burián. Mainly, this support stemmed from the wish of the Hungarian side, to prevent more territorial gains toward Serbia, meaning a further incorporation of 1.5 million Serbians into the monarchy. A bigger Albania with the added territories and the support of Germany for a reduced Serbian state, were seen as the most rational and interesting proposition for the Hungarian politician. But nonetheless, Prime Minister Tisza doubted a possible transformation of Albania into a modern state. Due to internal struggle and the gold poured into Albania from the enemies of the Monarchy, the proposed idea of the Foreign Minister was an expensive and dangerous project. If this proposition would had failed as in the case of rule of Prince Wied, the Austro-Hungarian image would be shattered diplomatically. Under this analyzes, he opened the door for both options, but leaned for the idea of Minister Burián due to national Hungarian interests.⁴⁹

The Austrian Prime Minister Stürgkh was sceptic and initially linked the binding decisions regarding the fate of the country, with the peace negotiations after the war. In his view, securing a military foothold in the area, would had been of vital importance for the Monarchy on the short-term period. After this point, he saw the direct protectorate as the only viable choice. The Joint Finance and War Minister, had more or less no clear answer to this problem, mainly, advocating prudency over two primary conditions: the ability of the Monarchy to absorb new ethnic groups (what legal bases), and the ability to conduct long-term policies of such magnitude in a time of war.⁵⁰

The last speaker was Chief of the General Staff Conrad. His reflections were proposed in two forms: orally in the GMR, and by official note sent to each one of the members,

⁴⁷ AIH. A. IV, K.239, 12–14.

⁴⁸ Ibid. 14.

⁴⁹ Komjáthy, *Protokolle*, 362–3.

⁵⁰ Ibid. 366–7, 369–371.

prior to the meeting, on 4th of January 1916.⁵¹ Differently from the opinion of the other members of the GMR, he sought that the decisions would have a binding characteristic due to the nature and the danger that the military forces would had to be exposed, in order to implement them. Only this way would Austria-Hungary have a road map, upon which to build a long-term policy that could be protected militarily. He proposed that all the statesmen present, would agree unanimously. Regarding Albania he had the following arguments:

Firstly, he saw the *ambiguous term protectorate* as problematic, due to the fact that this type of political entities were a constant source of friction, difficulties and crises for the protector, in political and material terms. This situation would had been magnified to a greater extent, if applied to the *Botched Balkan States*. According to him:

*“The primitive cultural, economic, complicated, never calming internal political situations of the sovereign Balkan states, would impose on us only political and cultural difficulties that cannot be foreseen; the overcoming of which, is only possible through the full incorporation [of them] into the monarchy.”*⁵²

Further on, he argued that the protected or stubborn states, were an easy prey by the influence of rivaling states. Additionally, it existed the danger that the protected could empower and clash in the future with its protector, such as the case of Bulgaria. The artificially, internationally protected and failed Albania, along with her one-day monarchy, was the *par excellence* case why he objected on principal to the idea of Burián.

Secondly, he believed that an Independent Albania was not viable. In case of a protectorate advocated by Burián and a sponsored smaller Serbia by Tisza and the Germans, the Austro-Hungarian control over the area would have been *de facto* only in paper. For this reason, he argued a full annexation for all the *three botched Balkan states*.⁵³ The new monarchy southern border would had been mediated with the Greek counterpart, but generally he saw as most advantageous following the traditional division line between the Gegë and the Toskë.⁵⁴ Any other solution was considered by him as *reductio ad absurdum* to the reasons why the Monarchy entered into the war.

The meeting continued with debates on the viability of the Albanian protectorate between Foreign Minister Burián and the Chief of General Staff Conrad. Despite the arguments from both sides, no decisive decision was taken over this matter after the closure of the GMR of 7th of January 1916. Both lines of thought were pursued on the terrain, while maintaining a rather strange half military and half civil administered protectorate, in the conquered areas of the Albania in 1916–1918.

⁵¹ Komjáthy, *Protokolle* (see note 44), 4. 1. 1916, p. 374–381.

⁵² Ibid. 377–8.

⁵³ Ibid. 372.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

Support or a never changing imperial policy?

The two sets of conferences showed above were willingly written without an extensive analyzes, in order to show to the reader in details, how the *political thought* in the Austro-Hungarian Empire manifested. One may argue why the two different contextual conferences were putted into confrontation and above all, with two decades of differences between them. The answer lies in the *unique* role that Austria-Hungary appointed on herself, and her supposed *Civilizing Mission*⁵⁵ toward the Albanian problem. The conferences were the only two cases where the Albanian question was discussed extensively into the main halls of power in Vienna. Before that and in between them, separate talks of minor importance were done, but no clear position was manifested.⁵⁶

Another unique aspect was *the time* when they were organized, closely related with a rather calm and culminant moment of power for the Danube Monarchy in the Balkan. In late 1896, the empire had a rather secure foothold in the political *Raum* in the peninsula, established by the peaceful cooperation with the Ottoman Empire in order to maintain the *status quo*. The Serbian kings were still under the golden economical leash, and the Bosnian territories were being absorbed through the colonialist policies of Kállay. The triple Alliance with the German and Russian empire was secure, while the Italians were still at bay from crossing the eastern shores of the Adriatic. In early 1916, the imperial double eagle flag was waving over the capital of Belgrade and Cetinje was soon to fall. With the help of the German and Bulgarian armies led by General Mackensen, the Macedonian theater of war was pacified. In the west the Adriatic Sea was soon to be balanced by the taking of Lovcen Hights and the Albanian territories, meanwhile the Russian, Italian and French front had no major breakthrough, but yet remained calm.⁵⁷

With these two unique traits the imperial power actors posed their view on solving the Albanian problem in their favor and, above all by *themselves*. In no other context had the Monarchy such an ample possibility to manifest her position and imperial power, with such extensive territorial decisions. Some authors, mainly Albanians and Serbians argue that Austria-Hungary had a decisive position after the Independence of the country in 1912, especially by the mediation of Count Berchtold to start a new war, unless the country was not cleared by the Balkan Armies. But this view is mainly incorrect, due to the fact that Aus-

⁵⁵ The *Civilizing Mission* of Austria-Hungary in the Balkan area, was a fusion between Scylla of expansion (*Drach nach Osten*) and Charybdis of absorption (*Einheit durch Vielfalt*). From this fusion, two separate line of thoughts regarding imperialism and colonization were molded on the basis of ethnical ruling lines. The Austrian colonizing thought was that “*of a westerner duty to civilize, improve in conditions and regain for Europe the lost lands*”, closely resembling the German Reich policy. The Hungarian counterpart under the name “*Turanic movement*” appointed the same obligation for these lost lands, not to the westerners (Austrians), but to the Hungarians and their self-image as eastern people. Regarding the Hungarian colonial movement see the book of Demeter, *Diplomatic Struggle for Supremacy over the Balkan Peninsula*, and as an Austrian counterpart the voluminous and impressive work of Gostentschnigg, *Wissenschaft im Spannungsfeld von Politik und Militär*, 17–18, 78–83, 269–272.

⁵⁶ Ibid.; Gostentschnigg, *Wissenschaft*, 230–262.

⁵⁷ Komjáthy, *Protokolle*, 375.

tria-Hungary (unwillingly) along with other Great Powers molded an anemic and internationalized state, in a territory of continuous war, social and political upheaval.⁵⁸

Taking into account these two unique traits, what is striking is the unchanging policy of the empire toward the Albanian territories, mainly that of a *future imperial protectorate* (which due to her internal and external situations can easily relegate to a colony or newly annexed territories). The country was generally viewed with big internal divisions (linguistic, religious and regional) toppled by a superiority complex toward the uncivilized tribes. With a rather illusional view, the diplomats posed the solution of protectorate in the first phase and later on annexation in the context of a second Bosnia. Nonetheless in the frame of this wrong view, it's visible the first difference between the two sets of conferences, mainly the position and tool on how to implement this policy.

The conference of 1896 saw the usage of the *faith* as a political medium for imperial expansion, initially thought pacifically.⁵⁹ Via the pretext of the *Kultusprotektorat*, the clerics and Catholic institutions would be used to spread the proposed political agenda, through national teachings of the Albanian language and mass indoctrination. The church would be the "militant agent" of the Empire for the Albanians⁶⁰, seeding the political views via the language teachings.

The conference of early January 1916 desired to implement the same policy by the *force of arms*. The military occupation would serve as pretext, and as a normalization phase, where the native political actors would be assessed into friendly and non-friendly to the empire, and acquire from them the decisional power.⁶¹ Both these instruments, as shown from the historical path that the Austro-Hungarian politicians and diplomats took, would fail on the long run. Surprisingly, the Empire chose to implement her imperial policies with a new method unknown before, even though existing methods of colonialization had proven more efficient. The French style of colonialization – *Assimilation*⁶² and the British one – *Basutoland*⁶³, were shunned by the *modus operandi* of the Ballhausplatz officials and AOK (Armeeoberkommando) generals. The imperials either didn't share power or made serious

⁵⁸ See Puto, *Pavarësia Shqiptare dhe Diplomacia e Fuqive të Mëdha* and also Bataković, *The Kosovo Chronicles*. Both authors have a number of similarities, such as being prominent historians of the communist era and later on during democracy, having a soft revisionism of their communist ideals toward nationalistic positions.

⁵⁹ There is a continuous shifting of the Austro-Hungarian policy and diplomacy toward indirect mechanisms of action, especially adopting the correlation religion = consolidation of nation used by the Serbians since 1863. See Okey, *Taming Balkan Nationalism*, 28.

⁶⁰ According to Zwiedineck: "the Franciscans have been working in Albania for many centuries and have cordial relations with the population, are well positioned among the mountainous tribes and possess authority. They are, as we can say, the militant church of Albania." HHStA, PA I, k. 473, Fol. 177 b.

⁶¹ Schwanke, *Militärverwaltung in Albanien*, (unpublished PhD thesis) 436.

⁶² Mainly by eradicating physically the native ruling class to appoint a new one. See the work of Lewis, *One Hundred Million Frenchmen*, 129–153; and Crowder, *Senegal: A Study in French Assimilation Policy*, 22–24.

⁶³ Mainly by bounding indirectly the existing native class via economic rule. See the book Egerton, *A Short History of British Colonial Policy*.

efforts to eliminate other native actors from the Albanian playground.⁶⁴ This led to a situation, where the Austro-Hungarian approach was seen as unreliable and double faced by the Albanian notables⁶⁵ and the tribesmen of the north.⁶⁶ The Italians on the contrary with little effort and expenses, made great progress to infiltrate and almost control vast economical areas such as the Maritime transport⁶⁷, oil industry and the salt mines in Kavaja and Durres.⁶⁸

The next element of similitude in the approach of the Empire toward the Albanian problem was the *policy of drawing maps*. The Austro-Hungarian diplomacy and AOK had literally little information on the outset of the geographical and ethnographical background of the western part of the peninsula. Partially, due to the fear of the Ottomans from espionage activities of enemy forces, and partially from the xenophobic attitude of the population toward any foreign elements, the data was poor. The first revelations were made between the years 1867-1870, with triangular measurements on the northern coasts of the area. The data was later enriched with topography information about the mountainous areas in the north by using photogrammetry methods and only in 1912-1914 the joint War Ministry commissioned the first maps of the Balkan area in general.⁶⁹ On the demographic elements and economic ones, there was a lack of information and misreporting of the numbers either from the official Ottoman documentation⁷⁰ or from the Austro-Hungarian diplomats.⁷¹

Despite these two missing important components, the imperial policy was not withdrawn from the original idea of reshaping the area with new borders and states. In the first set of conferences in 1896, the proposed territory of the Albanian nation (soon to be an in-

⁶⁴ According to Galtung theory of imperialism there were 5 forms how it was exerted: economically, diplomatically, militarily, culturally and by communication. All these forms were never exerted primarily and constantly by Austria-Hungary. The monarchy diplomatically switched her position toward ambivalent relations with different antagonist actors, partially due to her inability to act and partly to disinterest in the area. This led, that the void created by her influence to be filled by other actors such as Italy. See Galtung, *A Structural Theory of Imperialism*, 81–117.

⁶⁵ The most visible change of position from pro Austro-Hungarian to distrust toward the Danube Monarchy, is seen from Noblemen from Vlora family, Syrja and his son Ekrem. See the memoirs of S. Vlora, *Kujtime* and E. Vlora, *Kujtime (1885-1825)*.

⁶⁶ See Gostentschnigg, *Wissenschaft*, 333–7 regarding the failed uprising of 1883, organized by Thallóczy. Also Clayer, *Në fillimet e nacionalizmit shqiptar*, in relation with the uprising of 1910–1911 in North Albania and Kosovo.

⁶⁷ Gostentschnigg, *Wissenschaft*, 309–312; and Csaplár-Degovics, *Albanien in der Konferenzpolitik der Großmächte*, 15–17.

⁶⁸ Schwanke, *Militärverwaltung*, 319–322, 370.

⁶⁹ In 1912 it was commissioned a general map of the Balkans with ratio 1:750000, and in 1914 two additional ones: one general map with ratio 1:2000 and a special one with ratio 1:75000. See Schwanke, *Militärverwaltung*, 8.

⁷⁰ The first Ottoman censuses were carried in late 1890' and during WWI, when the Austro-Hungarian armies entered the territories had to redo a census since no official record was available. See Hanioglu, *A Brief History of the Late Ottoman Empire*, 144–145.

⁷¹ According to Williamson, the imperial diplomats had no keen observation on the demographic and economic elements on the reports they made. This explains the problems on the data with Orthodox population according to the diplomats in the Monastir records according to Toleva. See also the paper of Demeter, Bottlik, and Csaplár-Degovics, *Ethnic maps as instruments of nation – building on the Balkans*.

dependent principality) was thought to be molded on the *lines of the four Albanian vilayets*. The political agenda had to be implemented as lengthily as possible, where the demographic element was numerically in favor of the Albanians. Some areas like Mitrovica, Tetovo, Prishtina and Gjirokastër (up to the Shkumbini river line, where the Greek influence was thought dominant) were excluded. The nucleus of the new principality would have been the northern area, where the Catholic tribes were under the direct protection of the Monarchy.

The GMR in 1916 saw the same approach toward map drawing, but in this moment two groups antagonized, due to political and ethnical struggles inside the empire. The approach of Burián was that of a *Maximalist Albania*, where the new country would reach not only the old Kosovo vilayet territories, it would enlarge by compressing additional lands from Montenegro. Regarding the south, the Monarchy had always seen with doubt the position of the Southerner orthodox Albanians, mainly by viewing them as unreliable and possible betrayers in case of influence by third party powers.⁷² For this reason their incorporation to the Hellenic Kingdom up to the Shkumbini River, was seen as the most rational option. On the other side, Conrad Hötzendorf wished an *Annexed Albania* inside the monarchy. Any sacrifice made by the imperial troops, could only be justified with territorial benefits for the Monarchy.⁷³ In his view, as far as the imperial armies would have had the possibility to march and defend militarily, the most plausible southern new border for the Monarchy would have been the Mati river line.⁷⁴

The next similitude was the *geostrategical importance* that these territories had for the Monarchy. Almost naturally after the unification of Germany and Italy, the position of the Danubian Empire had to be redirected toward new areas where the chance for further aggrandizement was available. The only possible source for further expansion was seen in the European provinces of the Ottoman Empire. In this context, the role of the Albanian speaking territories became detrimental for the policy makers in Austria-Hungary.

According to the conferences of 1896, an enlarged Albania possibly as far as the border of Bosnia, would be of triple importance for the Monarchy. On a strategical level, the new Principality would pose two advantages to the monarchy: on the short-term it would serve as wedge between Serbia and Montenegro, stopping any future military action against the monarchy and vice-versa, and also in order to prevent any future union between the two south Slavic states. On the long-run, the existence of this new state would prevent any possible influence and advancement of other Great Powers (respectively Italy and Russian Empire) to access and control the eastern shores of the Adriatic Sea. Additionally, Austria-Hungary would have used the southern borders as a negotiating asset only with Greece, and no other state.

In 1916 the importance of Albania for the Empire grew exponentially, mainly due to her inability to monopolize the Balkan Area as her primary colonized backyard. Over the last three decades since the Congress of Berlin, Germany had pierced economic deals with the Balkan states via multiple separate agreements.⁷⁵ Additionally, among the ruling class of the

⁷² Fried, *Austro-Hungarian War Aims in the Balkans during World War I*, 181–2.

⁷³ Conrad to Franz Joseph, 22. 11. 1915, KA, MKSM, 1915 18-27, 25-1/5.

⁷⁴ Komjáthy, *Protokolle* (see note 44), 4. 1. 1916, p. 380.

⁷⁵ See Palaret, *The Balkan Economies (1800–1914)*, also Lampe and Jackson, *Balkan Economic History*.

royal Balkan families, the Germanic bloodline had come to power into Greece,⁷⁶ Bulgaria,⁷⁷ Rumania⁷⁸ and later on in Albania.⁷⁹ The general attitude in Vienna had been that of a cautious relationship with an ally that constantly had pushed his own position in favor of the idea of *Mitteleuropa*, meaning a broader control over the Central and South-East European affairs. In early 1916 and afterwards, the Germans pushed Austria-Hungary for a political dialog with Serbia, in order to win a peace treaty. From it, a smaller Serbian and ruling family (possibly unified with Montenegro) would have risen with a potential new German ruler.⁸⁰ These plans were discussed in numerous occasions with the Hungarian Prime minister István Tisza, who endorsed this idea in order to lower the number of Slavs in his country.⁸¹

The Bulgarians on the other hand had constantly shown an increasing appetite for new territories, especially with the renewed attitude to reach the Adriatic shores and control the port city of Durrës in central Albania, like the Medieval King Simeon I had done in 896. Despite an agreement that led to the alliance with the Central Powers, the Bulgarian forces had stretched even further the concorded line Prishtinë–Gjakovë–Prizren, and running south of the Albanian-Macedonian borders of 1912. For multiple months under the excuse of military discordance in the chain of command, the Bulgarians had entered in central Albania and controlled the city of Elbasan. From there, rumors that the son of Tsar Ferdinand, Prince Kyril, was chosen as the new royal head of the country, were spread via Albanian agents.⁸²

In this situation in early 1916 the role of the Albanian territories was magnified in the eyes of the policy makers of the Monarchy. If in the previous decades the country had served as a deterrent for the southern Slavic states, and a barrier for the Italians, in 1916 the most imminent danger was posed by the ambitions of the allies. Not only the territories had to be protected from the traditional Italic and Slavic enemies, but now the Germans and Bulgarians had entered in the bargain table beside Greece. In this prospect, Burián policy viewed the *Maximalist Albania* as the best proposition, in order to expel and stop further requests in the area, by holding the monopoly of influence as a protector. On the other side, Conrad envisioned the *Annexed Albania* as the only pragmatic choice, where under no legal term, any bargaining proposition could be made by the allies or enemies in the peace negotiations in the end of the war.

The last element of similitude between the two sets of conferences is the *imperial ideological contradiction*. After the failed anarchist movements all over Europe, later on followed by the Unification of Germany and Italy, a new political movement had spread all over the continent. Like a rising fever, the unitarian feeling based on ethno-linguistic elements had turned into a political mantra for the majority of the leading states. Based on the

⁷⁶ The first ruler was chosen Otto of Bavaria, later on 1863 replaced by the Danish royal George I from the House of Glücksburg.

⁷⁷ House of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha.

⁷⁸ Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen dynasty.

⁷⁹ Prince Wilhelm of Wied from the Prussian House of Wied-Neuwied.

⁸⁰ Fried, *Austro-Hungarian War Aims*, 145.

⁸¹ Afflerbach (Ed.), *The Purpose of the First World War*, 117–140.

⁸² The most controversial figure was Hasan Basri, an Albanian from the Macedonian side of the border. The Austrian authorities arrested him on the accusation that he was a Bulgarian agent. See Bego, *Albanian-Bulgarian relations in the frame of the Great War*, 9–12.

position of the Monarchy, and its multi-ethnicity, this pan-European aspiration was seen as dangerous and had to be stopped.⁸³ The empire made of 11 different ethnicities, counting around 52 million inhabitants on the eve of World War I, had a German ethnic rule on the Cisleithanian side and Hungarian ethnic dominance on the Transleithanian half.⁸⁴ Together these two groups had silenced violently any alternative nationalistic view, proposed by the rest of their compatriots.⁸⁵

Nonetheless, regarding the Albanian question, the imperial policy-makers pushed for the promotion, consolidation and strengthening of the Albanian nation. This fundamental contradiction stood like the sword of Damocles on top of the heads of MdA and AOK, posing constant debate on how to implement it. In this prospect the contradiction was eased by two characteristics: the premature phase of the national self-awareness among the Albanians and the possibility to use it against other ethnicities as a political and military weapon (*inimicus inimici mei amicus meus est*). In the meetings of 1896, the primary objective was the creation of the avalanche effect in nationalistic terms, where the Albanians would have been used as an *external force*. Pushing naturally toward the “*hated Slavs*”, they would have secured a constant shield and spear effect on both sides (Slavic and Italian influence) due to their peculiar ethnolinguistic characteristics.

In 1916 GMR, the conditions remained immovable regarding this matter. The only change was the opening of a second possibility by the propositions of Conrad, meaning the usage of Albanian nationalism as an *internal force*. This course of action would have countered the rise in numbers of the Slavic population after the annexation of Montenegro and Serbia. In this prospect the Albanians would have been promoted,⁸⁶ guided with paternal support⁸⁷ and enjoyed the imperial peace, after many years of war:

*“So they still tell [the Albanians], with a kind of melancholy of the time when the Austro-Hungarian soldiers had been in the country and [...] in the middle of the bloodiest war had forced a two and a half year old Bessa [alb. Oath]. And they succeeded in doing, something that all the pashas of the Grand Lords of Istanbul and their warriors had not been able to do in five centuries, [...] was the most impressive thing of all the works of peace among our soldiers among the wild mountain people.”*⁸⁸

As a final remark, one of the main questions of this analysis still hangs in the air, meaning was Austria-Hungary invested into the Albanian state-building process, as much as the nation-building one? The question is unclear not only from these conferences, but also from the whole activity of the imperials in the Albanian question. Posing the Herderian line of thought, the nation-building process was a necessity and prerequisite for the latter evolution

⁸³ Demeter, *Diplomatic Struggle for Supremacy over the Balkan Peninsula*, 15.

⁸⁴ Williamson, *Austria-Hungary and the Origins of WWI*, 22.

⁸⁵ Ibid. 129.

⁸⁶ Schwanke, *Militärverwaltung*, 105.

⁸⁷ Franz Joseph I proclamation to the Albanians in April 1916: “...but just as these commanders will exercise paternal care, so you have to show them full trust and constant obedience.” San Nicolo, *Handbuch der Militärverwaltung Albaniens*, 3.

⁸⁸ Kerchnawe, *Militärverwaltung in Montenegro und Albanien*, 304.

toward the State-building process. The imperials on both cases, never diverted their focus from the main issue, the creation of a nation molded under their image. Even though artificially and inconsistently advocated, the Foreign Ministry saw as a stepping stone the realization of the Albanian nation for the sake of the Empire geo-political position, more than a humanitarian case in 1896. The latter GMR meeting of 1916 added the Albanian question as an appendix (but rather a major one) to the issue of Serbia. The participants had all moved from the initial position of 1896, meaning that the Albanian nation was accepted as *fait accompli*. The continuous rebellions pushed and hushed from the Danubian diplomats against the Sublime Porte, the unification of the alphabet (fourteen existing ones in usage) under the continuous suggestion and rather skillful intervention of consul Kral in 1908; the independence after many mediations in border disputes stemming from Istria up to Arta Bay in 1912-1913; had created among foes and allies the generally accepted perception, that the Albanian nation existed and Austria-Hungary was its defender.

After this initial and crucial phase was completed, the future of the Albanian state remained a commodity question, based on the wrong assumption that the imperials had to operate in a perfect environment without external and internal pressure. The question of the Albanian state dwindled between existence or a full and slow annexation, where in both cases it was under an imperial protectorate. In this regard the terms imperial or colonial protectorate have no major differences, since the outcome would had been the same. In 1896 after the successful closure of the nation-building process, if we analyze the life and experiences of the participants, we can see that this outcome would had been the most desired one. Zwiedineck⁸⁹ had served in Beirut, Constantinople, Syria and Bucharest. Baum⁹⁰ had been posted in Izmir, Thessaloniki, Beirut, etc., while Schmucker⁹¹ had travelled and served half a world between Shkodër, Odessa, Ioannina, Shanghai, etc. The Head of the Orient section Horowitz⁹² also had his fair share of obligations abroad in Bucharest, Alexandria, Constantinople and Bosnia; while Kállay long life experience in Bosnia was well known. All the mentioned people, beside Baum, had been educated in the Oriental Academy. They had learned about the Orient and served for the empire as consuls and diplomats, in places where colonialism and the imperialistic aspirations were the main line of thought and the generally accepted *modus operandi*. In this regard is safe to assume that, after the successful closure of the Albanian nation-building process, they would had been more open to a colonizing policy under the term protectorate, than with the formation of an independent state.

In 1916 beside Burián and the undecisive Tisza, the rest of the participants who were members of the War Party, had no vivid interest to protect the Albanian state as a political entity. The foreign minister had posed a second option, based on pragmatic reasoning for the safeguarding of the empire. This meant less intervention militarily, economically and above all with a cautious eye over the future relations with the Albanians. Antagonizing openly another ethnicity, while the empire had open wounds from 11 national groups at home, would had been a destructive political myopia. In addition, his professional years as a diplomat in Greece, Germany, Russia, Bulgaria and in Bosnia, had taught him that it was

⁸⁹ Deusch, *Die effektiven Konsuln*, 714–5.

⁹⁰ Ibid. 197.

⁹¹ Ibid. 586–7.

⁹² Ibid. 349–350.

too dangerous to operate with open colonial policies in the region. Above all reasons, the Monarchy was too weak and too divided to implement such actions unilaterally and openly. In this regard, the preservation of the Albanian state (loudly advocated by Thallóczy),⁹³ was more an extra option thrown in the table of the imperial policy-makers by the astute Burián, than a desired and real possibility.⁹⁴

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⁹³ Demeter, *Diplomatic Struggle*, 139–154.

⁹⁴ In the first years of the Albanian Independence, the empire had played a dangerous game in relation with the Albanian state. Ambiguously, the Ballhausplatz had endorsed a weak and inexperienced monarch as Prince Wied, with the hope of gaining a pretext to militarily intervene; had stopped the financial support as part of the international obligations from the London Conferences of 1912-13 and didn't took an active role into the civil uprisings of 1914-1916 in Albania, considering her duty as protector. Either from impossibility, lack of interest due to major issues, or pure imperial pragmatism, the answer for this ambiguous position toward the Albanian state is still unknown.

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Austria-Hungary and the Albanian Project. A Comparative Case Study: Between support and imperialism

The purpose of this paper, is to analyze the role of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy in the creation of Albania as a geopolitical entity and its continuity up until the end of World War I. This process is investigated by comparing two pivotal moments, that link the Danubian Monarchy and the Albanian nation and state-building processes, especially the conferences of 1896 by the officials of the *Ballhausplatz* and the conferences of the Common Ministerial Council (GMR) in January 1916.

The paper is organized in three parts. The first one will introduce the shifting position of Austria-Hungary on the Eastern Question, regarding the methods and policies to be introduced via the local diplomatic Attaché in different consulates around the Albanian speaking *vilayets*. Additionally, it will highlight their role on moulding the Albanian latent nationalism into a political nation-building tool. The second part will investigate the Danubian Monarchy policy in the context of World War I and the controversial debates of the main imperial actors on the Albanian matter. The third part will compare the two above mentioned conferences and the shifting policies between colonization, imperial protectorate and independence.

The importance of this paper is manifold. Primarily, it addresses the role of the Dual Monarchy in the creation of the Albanian state. Secondly, it points out the pragmatic reasons why the Dual Monarchy had to pursue these policies. Thirdly, it points out the diversity of opinions suggested by different imperial actors, which spanned from direct annexation, partial independence and partition of Albanian territories for geopolitical benefits. Fourthly, it's a comparative study that has not been done regarding the two conferences, either from the Albanian or Austrian authors.

A Part of the Ottoman Centralization Policy: Travel Permits and Their Samples Until the 20th Century

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After the development of central governments, from the 16th century onwards, states wanted to control the movements of their citizens by several documents. These identity documents were a kind of passports, and their arrangements varied from country to country. With the undisputed triumph of capitalism and nation-states in 19th century of Europe, the state's control over the people was predominantly considered as an internal matter. Competition between states in the economic and military fields revealed the importance of centralization. Politicians who wanted to take advantage of this competition went on to increase control over the activities of their populations.

In the Ottoman Empire, the state-control over the movements of its citizens dates back well before the 19th century. Due to the manorial system in the Ottomans, the peasantry remained attached to their lands, and the State imposed criminal sanctions on those left their lands. There were severe migration waves to Western Anatolia and especially to Istanbul until the 20th century, and therefore it was necessary to prevent the entry of beggars and unemployed people without guarantees to the city. The obligation to have “*yol hükmü*” (road provision), whose name changed to “*mürur tezkeresi*” (passing compass), was also one of these considerations.

In this study, it is aimed to shed light on the state-control over the people by making use of the Ottoman archives, the narratives of the travellers with secondary sources, and aimed to give information about the travel permits and travel documents which were subject to an arrangement since the 19th century.

The first part of the study attempted to provide information about the emergence of the Modern States and the first passport applications. The second part focused on travel documents in the Ottoman Empire. The third section contains information about the political events in the depressed periods of the empire and the travel documents that changed as a core of the centralization policies which the government focused on. The final part provides information on the economic aspect of travel certificates as a source of income and as a means of pressure on the public.

The emergence of modern states and first passport applications

Since the disappearance of feudalism and the strengthening of central governments, some states wanted to control their citizens by some documents. These documents were pass-

ports, which also served as a form of identity documents, and their issuances varied from one country to another.¹

The economic change in Europe, especially since the 16th century, and the resulting unemployment has forced government administrators to take some precautions. With the documents issued by the Prussian Imperial Police Department in 1548 and known as “Pass”, the movements of gypsies, unemployed people, and cadgers were believed to pose a danger in terms of social order and security were tried to be limited.² Since the 16th century, especially unemployment in cities has brought with it the need for more control of the public by states. Before the applications of the Prussian Empire, despite the relatively free environment created by *Magna Charta* in England, it was illegal for some merchants and soldiers to leave their place in 1381 without permission.³

In the 17th century, we can understand that travellers and religious deviants with the vagrants were among the factors that worried state administrators.⁴

It is evident that in the 18th century, the main reason why state administrators brought up residence documents and travel permits in Russia, under the rule of Peter the Great, was the systematic need for the military for the vast army of the state. We understand that since 1719 people were obliged to obtain a permit from states to move from one town or village to another.⁵

Considering France, the place where the first nation-state was born, we see in the Louis-XVI period (1643–1715) people had to have some kind of internal passports. This situation is related to how the subjects living in the country defined as “foreign or national” rather than “foreign or local” due to the discriminatory policy imposed by the state since the late middle ages. From these documents prepared by local religious authorities, it is clear that the country was experiencing some kind of internal security problems.⁶

In the pre-revolutionary French regime, passport checks became a vital mechanism of daily life, and this situation disturbed the revolutionaries. In the French state, which was reconstructed after the revolution, we understand that with compulsory military service becoming a way of life, and residence documents and passports became crucial.⁷

The successful functioning of compulsory military service and the bureaucratic mechanism in this regard strengthened the state’s hand in defining and limiting the movements of its citizens, despite the vigorous protests of the revolutionaries.⁸ With the constitution adopted in 1791 after the revolution, passport controls were lifted because it was against individuals’ freedom to travel. Nevertheless, after a while, it was returned to this system.⁹

Competition between states since the 19th century, particularly in the economic and military sphere, demonstrated the importance of centralization. Politicians, who wanted to strengthen their hands for the race in question, went on to increase the control over the

¹ Turna, *Seyahat, Göç ve Asayiş*, 10.

² Torpey, *Passport*, 59–60.

³ Bertelsmann, *Das Passwesen*, 17–18.

⁴ Turna, *Seyahat, Göç ve Asayiş*, 10.

⁵ Torpey, *Passport*, 61–64.

⁶ Ibid. 65.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Torpey, *Passport*, 67–68.

⁹ Turna, *Seyahat, Göç ve Asayiş*, 11.

population movements. These checks gave the ruling class the power to determine who could enter their territories and who could go. Although the move towards freedom of travel in the 19th century (Appendix 1), America's law to prevent Chinese immigration to the country; Passport law that came into force in Italy in 1901; the transition of the French state to the identity document system and the current "Pass" system in Germany marked this century.¹⁰ The controls by the passport documents, which were temporarily applied during World War I, were made permanent in the later years of the war.

Travel documents and internal passport implementations were caused by the oppressive governments of the past to want to keep their citizens under control generally. We see that in the 20th century, passport applications were sometimes flexible and sometimes strict. For instance, Germany, which made special censuses to Jews in the coming periods after the World War I, put into effect a kind of internal passport application in 1935 (Appendix 2).¹¹

Another example of passport application in the twentieth century is related to the Soviet Union. In the Soviet era, a kind of passport system called "Propiska" was put into effect.¹² With this practice, it is apparent that villagers were wanted to be kept under control by preventing mass migration to the cities.

Many countries have ended their internal passport applications since the 20th century. "Pass" and other domestic passports were replaced by increasingly important identity cards. The role of the general validity of identity cards/documents in claiming citizenship rights and benefiting from social services plays a significant role in this.¹³

In short, it would not be wrong to say that the identity documents we use today are a continuation and an example of former internal passport applications.

Travel documents in the Ottoman Empire

We see that state-control over citizens' movements in the Ottoman Empire dated far beyond the 18th century when the state took intense steps towards centralization. In Europe, the serfdom system had tied people to the field and prevented migration from the countryside to the cities. As this system began to deteriorate, there was a massive wave of migration from the countryside to the cities; the cities were full of unemployed, homeless people, beggars, and vagrants.¹⁴

Due to the *Timar system*¹⁵ in the Ottoman Empire, the state imposed criminal sanctions on those who left their land. However, the general economic hardship in the country over time – an increase of taxes, some adverse economic developments, and the difficulties that the peasant suffered – forced the farmers to leave their lands. Just like the samples of the other European states, many of these mentioned people, who were called *çiftbozan*,¹⁶ fell

¹⁰ Torpey, *Passport*, 63–111.

¹¹ Schmid, *Juden Unterm Hakenkreuz*, 97–100.

¹² Garcelon, *Colonizing the Subject*, 83–100.

¹³ Turna, *Seyahat, Göç ve Asayiş*, 12.

¹⁴ Lüdtke, *Police and State in Prussia*, 46.

¹⁵ *Timar*: Ottoman land usufructary right. In Ottoman Empire, it was known as a donation of lands or takings by the sultan to a person in emolument for his services. Encyclopaedia Britannica, "*Timar*".

¹⁶ A type of law prohibiting migration from villages to cities in different periods of the Ottoman Empire. E-Tarih, "*Çift Bozan Kanunu*".

into the grip of hunger where they went. By the archive documents of that era, we see that these people caused anxiety and mistrust of their existence among all the Anatolian and Rumelian people.

There were severe waves of migration to Western Anatolia and especially to Istanbul until the 19th century. Therefore, it was necessary to prevent the entry of beggars, unemployed, and people without guarantees. One of these measures is the obligation to have road provision, whose name was changed to *mürur tezkeresi*¹⁷ in the 19th century.

We understand from previous researches that the Ottoman citizens had to obtain these travel permits, called the *mürur tezkeresi*, from *Qadis*¹⁸ and regent in villages and towns until 1831. Anyone wishing to go to another city for a visit or for business or other reasons, firstly, should have received a written letter from the imam of the neighborhood where, for what reason and for how long he would go; then he could take this paper to the court and give it to the *Qadi* and pay the required fee, and then he could have permission paper. After the establishment of the reeve organization in neighborhoods, the authority to issue these written ballots was taken from imams and given to *demarchs*.¹⁹

The issue of allowing travels and migrations in the territories of the Ottoman Empire arose with the period of Sultan Mehmet II (The Conqueror) in the 15th century. One of these first orders, called "*il-can-name*" or "*il-can mektubu*", was written by Mehmet II in 1463 to allow a Venetian ambassador, named Franco Bobanic,²⁰ to settle in Ottoman territory (*Novo Brdo*)²¹ with his family, and the other was addressed to the authorities, asking for necessary measures to ensure that the Venetian ambassador could travel safely.²²

We see that "*il-can-name*"s in the 15th century and "*izn-i serif*"s the 16th century left their places in the 18th and 19th centuries to "*yol emr-i serif*"s. In addition to all these documents, the type of document known as "*passavan*"²³ arranged for people traveling between two neighboring states and the "*yol emr-i serif*"s requested by the embassies of foreign countries also took their place among the documents required for the trip.

These documents, requested by foreign embassies, are documents addressed to the authorities at the places where the traveler will stop and arrive at the last time of the trip and are intended to ensure the safety of the passenger, to provide for his needs and to prevent any arbitrary application (Appendix 3).²⁴

The need for "*yol izn-i serif*"s decreased over time as the use of description-based "*Mürur*"s became widespread. *Mürur* documents were mainly required to be provided by

¹⁷ Kutukoglu, *Diplomatik*, 251.

¹⁸ "*Qadi*" or Arabic "*qādī*": A Muslim judge who renders decisions according to the Sharī'ah (Islamic law). The qadi's jurisdiction theoretically includes civil as well as criminal matters. Encyclopaedia Britannica, "*Qadi*".

¹⁹ Cadırcı, *Pasaport Nizamnameleri*, 171.

²⁰ Ménage, *Seven Ottoman Documents*, 96–97.

²¹ "*Novabrdo*" or "*Novo Brdo*", is a medieval Serbian mining town located nowadays in Pristina / Kosovo. Mapnall, "*Novo Brdo*".

²² Sezer, *Seyahat İzinleri*, 108.

²³ "*Pasavan*" or "*Passavant*": a document issued to Turkish citizens who live in the border areas between neighbouring countries and who have land there to be used as a passport for their free commute. Kubbealti Lugati, "*Pasavan*".

²⁴ Turna, *Seyahat, Göç ve Asayiş*, 14.

everyone, local or foreign, who had the desire to travel in Ottoman territories. These documents, usually issued for foreign embassy employees,²⁵ merchants and clergy, were road permits issued for one year to ensure that such persons are not subjected to arbitrary treatment by the civil servants on the route they pass during their travels and that they can provide their needs with their own money.²⁶

In addition to the information about which state the person is a subject, his/her place of residence, where he/she will go, the age, height, beard, mustache of the owner of the certificate (*tezkere*), whether he/she carries a gun or not, were included (Appendix 4). Furthermore, if a traveler passes a settlement under an epidemic, the information about the health status of this person was noted by police on the backside of the mentioned certificate.²⁷

It is also understood that the state has been strict at times in allowing travel. For example, Afife Hanım, who was living in Istanbul in 1757, went to Edirne with her daughter Ayşe and her two concubines to settle a debt, but they were not allowed to return. We also know that some foreign travellers wishing to travel in the Ottoman Empire also encountered some difficulties in travel permit applications.²⁸

In the translation of a road permit dated 1588, which Reinhold Lubenau, who wanted to travel through the Ottoman Empire in the 16th century, had it delivered with the British envoy's assistant and prepared on behalf of the Turkish Sultan, the following phrases were used:

"May God make all our designs and actions successful. To the qadis or judges who are in charge of all the sea and land routes of Bab-ı Humayun²⁹ at the intersection of the known cities and to the captains who rule the ports, Gulf and islands at sea or manage the ships, as well as to the chiefs and commanders who roam the seas, to the emirs assigned to the ports of our country and is reported by: Reinhold Lubenau, who presented the Emirname-i Humayun³⁰ that should be counted and obeyed, some time ago, our esteemed ally and beloved nurse of the Ottoman Empire came with the tribute sent by The King of Vienna (Beç) to Bab-ı Humayun on the orders of the English Queen³¹ and now asked my permission to return to the Great Queen of England again. For this reason, it goes wherever the person in question, land, and sea, roads or ports are not against the law in personal and prevent damage to equipment, disconnect any hassle, and providing everything he needs money for supplies

²⁵ For instance, the Habsburg envoy Anselm Franz von Fleischmann, who was in Istanbul between 1711 and 1715, stated in a report that he was waiting for a passport. HHStA-*Türkei I*-1710-1713, 179v.

²⁶ The Encyclopaedia of Islam [EOI], "*Murur Tezkereleri*".

²⁷ Kutukoglu, *Diplomatik*, 254.

²⁸ Turna, *Seyahat, Göç ve Asayiş*, 44.

²⁹ "*Bab-ı Humayun (The Great Gate)*" refers to the Topkapı Palace in Istanbul, where the Ottoman Sultan and his veziers were located.

³⁰ "*Emirname-i Humayun (The Great Order)*" refers to the letters sent by the Ottoman sultans to the rulers of foreign states as well as to the Lords in the status of vassals and to the rulers of the privileged regions. EOI, "*Name-i Humayun*".

³¹ *Queen Elizabeth I* (1533–1603) is meant.

and food, also freely and in safety from one place to another is commanded to go and help him get out of the country. However, he was not allowed to take horses, slaves, weapons, or other forbidden goods with him when he returned to his home country by ship. This Emirname must be followed carefully."³²

An Englishman Henry Barkley, a traveler, and an engineer, also mentioned that people wishing to travel in the Ottoman country in the 19th century should have obtained travel documents and carried the Sultan's edict with them. Barkley pointed out that only essential and reassuring Europeans could receive these documents, was complaining about the security guards waiting with them until they leave the city:

*"When you enter a city, you either show the Sultan's edict, or you send the edict with one of your men to the state official in the city. The next step is for city security guards to stand by until you leave town in the morning. Nevertheless, the truth is, they are never ready, so whenever we hire a new assistant security guard, I can say that we have lost two hours to wait for this guy to get ready. In general, it is doubtful that they are a blessing, but there is no doubt that they are a nuisance."*³³

According to the memoirs of J. Rendel Harris,³⁴ another pilgrim who visited the Ottoman lands, it is clear that several unique documents were inevitably issued in the late 19th century, other than travel permits or *mürur* certificates, as in earlier centuries. In a letter, Harris tells that the Grand Vizier would assist them on travel permits so that they would have certain privileges wherever they visit on the way, and there is no longer need guides. In another letter dated July 30, 1896, he states that some government officials had hampered regarding travel permits and that he had sent them a sum of money by telegraph.³⁵

Road provision, *izn-i sharif*, or another certificate, it is understood that foreign nationals who request a permit were not ordinary citizens. These documents were requested by persons of special status, including commercial ones, such as merchants, embassy officials, interpreters. Some of the road permits, which required by foreign nationals, were based on trade concessions or peace agreements granted by the Ottoman Empire to many other states.³⁶

In 1908, the application of the *mürur* certificates was abrogated by the proclamation of the constitution in the Second Constitutional Era (II. Meşrutiyet Dönemi). With the increase in the use of identity documents called "*Tezkere-i Osmaniyye*",³⁷ and since the middle of the 19th century, the application of foreign passports became widespread, and the application of the *mürur* certificates was not necessary. In the following years, *mürur* certificates

³² Lubenau, *Osmanlı Ülkesinde*, 544–545.

³³ Olivier, *Yolculuk*, 45.

³⁴ James Rendel Harris was an English biblical scholar (1852–1941). Peoplepill, "J. Rendel Harris".

³⁵ Harris and Harris, *Ermeni Mektupları*, 26.

³⁶ Kutukoglu, *Diplomatik*, 536–540.

³⁷ "*Tezkire-i Osmaniye documents were first adopted in 1863 C.E. (1280 A.H.) as, is in effect, an identification document. It included information describing the holder (parents, address, physical description) and where he/she was registered in the population registry.*" Sephardicstudies, "*Ottoman Identification Document*".

were replaced by “travel records”. This practice continued until the occupation of Istanbul in 1920, despite criticism that it was insufficient to produce solutions to the problems of public order after World War I.³⁸

The political environment in which the *mürur* applications developed

To examine the political atmosphere in which travel documents and permits developed along with the bureaucracy that evolved in the Ottoman Empire, a closer examination of the last century of the Empire is needed.

The rise of the Wahhabism in the Arabian Peninsula, Napoleon’s invasion of Egypt in 1798, and the over-empowered feudal lords in the Balkans, in particular, had shaken the imperial authority. During Selim III’s reign, the Janissary army, which had long lost its character, was also endangering the country’s internal and external security. In addition to all these current threats, we should not forget a Russian Tsarist who tried to advance towards the West and Ottoman lands. Russia, which annexed the Armenian territories and the north of Azerbaijan in 1804, was a great danger to Anatolia.³⁹

Both internal and external threats led Selim III (1761–1808) to a new reform movement. Several additional taxes were needed for this “New order” meaning “*Nizam-i Cedid*” reforms. The Janissary army and the ulema,⁴⁰ which benefited from the current corrupt order, caused the death of Selim III with the *Rebellion of Kabakçı Mustafa* (May 1807) and the shelving of the reform movement.⁴¹

With the accession of Mahmut II (1808–1839) to the throne, the reform movements resumed. The “*Sened-i Ittifak*” (1808),⁴² the suppression of the *Rebellion of Tepedelenli Ali Pasha* (1820–1822), and the *Abolition of the Janissary Army* (June 15, 1826), as well as the introduction of several innovation movements in the field of bureaucracy, were essential events in Ottoman political life during this period.

On November 3, 1839, the life, property, and honor of all subjects were secured by the promulgation of the “*Tanzimat*” edict.⁴³ It defined and regulated the relationship between the state and the citizen, and it was emphasized that every citizen had equal rights in the application of the principles of law. In the so-called *Tanzimat period* between 1839 and 1876, bribery was banned, and confiscation was duly terminated. “*İltizam*” – the system of

³⁸ Turna, *Seyahat, Göç ve Asayiş*, 14–17.

³⁹ Kurat, *Rusya Tarihi*, 319.

⁴⁰ Ulema: a privileged class originating from the madrasa, which formed the education, judiciary, fatwa and diyanet (religious organization) in the Ottoman Empire. [EOI], “*Ulema*”.

⁴¹ Karal, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, 77–80.

⁴² *Sened-i Ittifak*: the name of the document signed between the central bureaucracy and the powerful and wealthy governors in Ottoman history. [EOI], “*Sened-i Ittifak*”.

⁴³ *Tanzimat* (“*Reorganization*”): series of reforms promulgated in the Ottoman Empire between 1839 and 1876 under the reigns of the sultans Abdülmecid I and Abdülaziz. These reforms, heavily influenced by European ideas, were intended to effectuate a fundamental change of the Empire from the old system based on theocratic principles to that of a modern state. Encyclopaedia Britannica, “*Tanzimat*”.

collecting state revenues through the tender – was called off. Nevertheless, it returned to the system after a while due to the reactions that came.⁴⁴

Mass migration movements occurred after the Crimean War between the Ottoman Empire and Russia between 1853 and 1856. The Russians forcibly displaced Muslims in the Crimea region, resettling Orthodox Christians in the region. During and after the Crimean War, Russians doubted the loyalty of Crimean Tatars, while they were concerned about the Russian policy of russifying the region. The number of Tatars who migrated to the Ottoman country from 1783 to 1922 was around 1.800.000.⁴⁵

Caucasian migrations followed the Crimean migrations in the following years. During the six years between 1864–1870, when the 25-year resistance of Sheikh Shamil (1797–1871) ended in 1859, Caucasian migrations, thought to be about 2.500.000,⁴⁶ included Balkan migrations after the Russian War of 1877–1878. The migrations brought with them an identity crisis. Although the majority of the emigrants were Muslims, they had some disagreements with the locals in the new places. These problems were such as communion of the lands, marriages, and so on. The fact that those who forced Muslims to emigrate or tortured them where they lived and destroyed their families by confiscating their property were mostly Christians; the fact that the non-Muslim community in the places where Muslims had just emigrated was fuelling disagreements and causing identity problems⁴⁷ with public order failings.

The need for the state to control the movements of its subjects was of particular importance in this period. In addition to the mentioned political developments in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, one of the critical issues that preoccupied the Ottoman Empire was the Armenian issue.⁴⁸ Especially since the 1890's,⁴⁹ it is seen that Armenians often took part in the practice of *mürur* applications (Appendix 5). Armenians in Anatolia were able to enrich their language and literature through the work of missionaries; they fought for their national rights and received support from Russia. The events that took place before and during the First World War strengthened Armenian nationalism. Many Armenians have left the country, and many have lost their lives. Some of the Armenians also opted to side with Russia during the World War.

In summary, we see that in the last century of the Ottoman Empire, it had to deal with political and financial problems as well as a social issue that caused significant crises and identity problems. The Ottoman nation system, formerly composed of Christian, Muslim, and Jewish classes, has been shattered by the influence of the ideology of nationalism; communities, living in different geographies where the Empire has spread, have been questioning their loyalty to the state they were subjects of for centuries. The abolition of the Janissary army, which had been a plague on the State for more than a century, and the pro-

⁴⁴ Inal, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, 392–406.

⁴⁵ Karpat, *Etnik Yapılanma*, 162–163.

⁴⁶ Ibid. 13–15.

⁴⁷ Ibid. 22.

⁴⁸ Turna, *Seyahat, Göç ve Asayiş*, 25–26.

⁴⁹ With the establishment of the Armenian Revolutionary Organization (Dashnaktsutyun) in 1890, Armenians felt that the ideals of independence could not be achieved through peaceful policies. They started revolts in gangs in many cities in Eastern Anatolia. Encyclopaedia Britannica, “Dashnaktsutyun”.

longed uprisings in Anatolia, in particular, forced an internal passport application for security reasons.⁵⁰ Travel documents, which were an effective method used by states for ages, had been used much earlier than the 19th century in the Ottoman Empire, but they had not only bureaucratic but also economic value.

Economic aspect of *mürur* applications

In addition to the function of ensuring security, it is seen that the state uses these documents as an element of pressure on its citizens regarding taxes. For example, if a person owed taxes, he could obtain a travel permit only if he had made a written commitment to pay the debt on a specific date. In a document dated September 25, 1850, in the Ottoman Archive, it is mentioned that the family of Kolagası Hasan from Cankırı (Central Anatolia) should send a written commitment document to the regional governor to be able to go to Istanbul, provided that they pay their accumulated tax debts or show a guarantee for their debts.⁵¹ The state used the *mürur* certificates as a tool for collecting debts, but this situation was met with the reaction by the public because it restricted travel opportunities.⁵² Based on a large number of documents to take measures against those who did not pay the wages of *mürur* certificates in the Ottoman archives, it is predictable that the high fees of these certificates created dissatisfaction in the society for seasonal workers, low-income citizens and those who had to travel in hopes of finding a job.

In the 19th century, expenses of these documents and salaries of some officials were covered by the fees received from *mürur* certificates (Appendix 6). Again, it can be said that the state intended to provide financial stability by increasing the amount of tuition in this period from time to time. Besides, the state was receiving tuition from Hıjj tourists or for any other purpose, whether Muslim or not. Pilgrim Lui Ramber, since Muslims cannot go abroad without the Sultan's permission, mentions that these requests were often rejected and that they had to explain the reason for even the shortest trip. It also states that even a trip of fifty to a hundred miles is costly and requires waiting days for a permit.⁵³

Lui Ramber describes the problems related to the economic aspects of the *mürur* and passport practices in the Ottoman Empire as follows:

*"If the Turks are not obliged to accept foreigners with passports because of trade agreements and capitulations, they will close their borders and surround them with barriers. These difficulties are not alone in the journey. Now, many goods that can be obtained with difficulty before, and any machine that is not possible to produce in the country cannot be imported to Turkey. Therefore, no art can flourish in the country."*⁵⁴

As a result, the states' control of the movements of their peoples did not begin in the 19th century. However, until the 19th century, travel documents existed with different names

⁵⁰ Ergün, "Ermeniler", 28–29.

⁵¹ PSA, A.MKT.MVL. Nr:32/41. September 25, 1850.

⁵² Turna, *Seyahat, Göç ve Asayiş*, 27–28.

⁵³ Ramber, *Gizli Notlar*, 103.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

and different contents. The *mürur* papers with the description of the owner were the product of the centralization policy in their current period. Like many other states, the Ottoman Empire had been in the passport/internal passport application to ensure security and to observe who is entering and leaving the country (Appendix 7).

The *mürur* practice, which lasted until 1910, pioneered the practice of “*seyahat varakalari*” (new type travel papers), and the state continued its policy of monitoring individuals by passports and identity documents practices.

Conclusion

Since the end of feudalism and the reign of the central kingdoms as in ancient times, the ruling powers have wanted to control their citizens, both for their own and their country's safety. The producer peasant class, which was formerly dominated by feudal lords and was the most crucial part of the economy, found itself under the robust control mechanisms of centralized administrations after the disappearance of feudalism.

With the discovery of new, rich civilizations and evolving technology, countries have entered a natural race with each other. The population was one of the most influential forces in this race, which lasted mostly in the military and economic fields, and was of great importance both in terms of meeting the military needs of the states and in terms of providing tax benefits. Besides all this, we should not forget that the population should also be considered as a security issue. It is worth remembering that for centuries, peoples rebelled for many reasons, primarily economic reasons, displaced the throne holders, and even caused the disaster of the country. It was the same for peoples subject to the Ottoman State. The economic riots in Anatolia before the end of the 16th century, which was the most powerful and glamorous period of the Empire, left the Ottoman rulers in a problematic situation for many years. Ottoman politicians, who had to deal with wars and internal revolts at the same time, attempted to reforms both in the military and bureaucracy. In this context, they paid attention to travel restrictions to prevent villagers who hit the most significant blow to the economy from leaving the places where they lived. The Ottomans enjoyed being an empire with many different ethnic groups and spread over broad geography for a long time and experienced the transformation of these factors into a significant problem during the troubled period of the Empire.

With the French Revolution, the definition of the nation changed. Muslims, Christians, and Jews, who were separated from each other in the society according to their religious beliefs, rediscovered their identities through factors such as culture, mother tongue, and collective history. Then, they rebelled against the Ottoman authority for independence, thanks to the ideology spread after the French Revolution. The Ottoman Empire, which was shaken by the influx of nationalism, had to struggle with the problems of public order and identity with the refugees who migrated from the lands lost as a result of successive defeats.

Although the government attempted to prevent irregular immigration with the travel permit practices, which was named *mürur* certificate since the 19th century, it is difficult to say that it was very successful in this because many documents in the Ottoman archives reveal that the Empire was insufficient to provide this internal security, especially in the 20th century. However, it is essential to remember that the implementation of travel documents as a continuation of the centralization policies that tried to keep the Ottoman Empire alive

until the 20th century was still used as a mechanism of control over the citizens, both socio-political and economic, by today's states.

Appendixes

Appendix 1: "A passport-free tour commercial of the Orient Express"



A passport-free travel advertisement poster in 1888 for the Orient Express from London to Istanbul⁵⁵

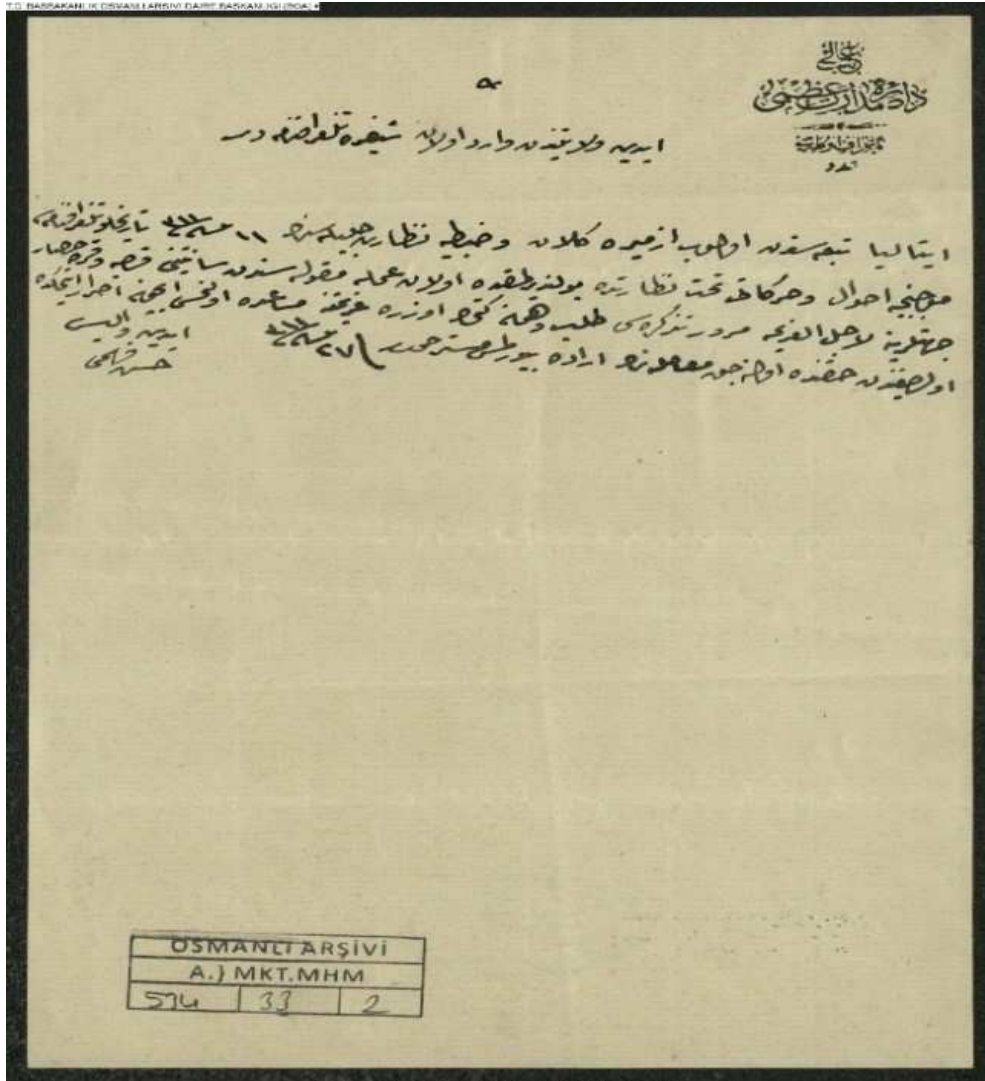
⁵⁵ Serlin, "Ready for Inspection".

Appendix 2: “A Jewish Pass issued by Nazi Germany”

Just before the beginning of the World War II, the German State cancelled the validations of all Jewish passports except the ones which have red “J” stamps on⁵⁶

⁵⁶ Citizenship by Investment, “Rare and most valuable historical passports in the World”. *CIP Journal*, 2017.

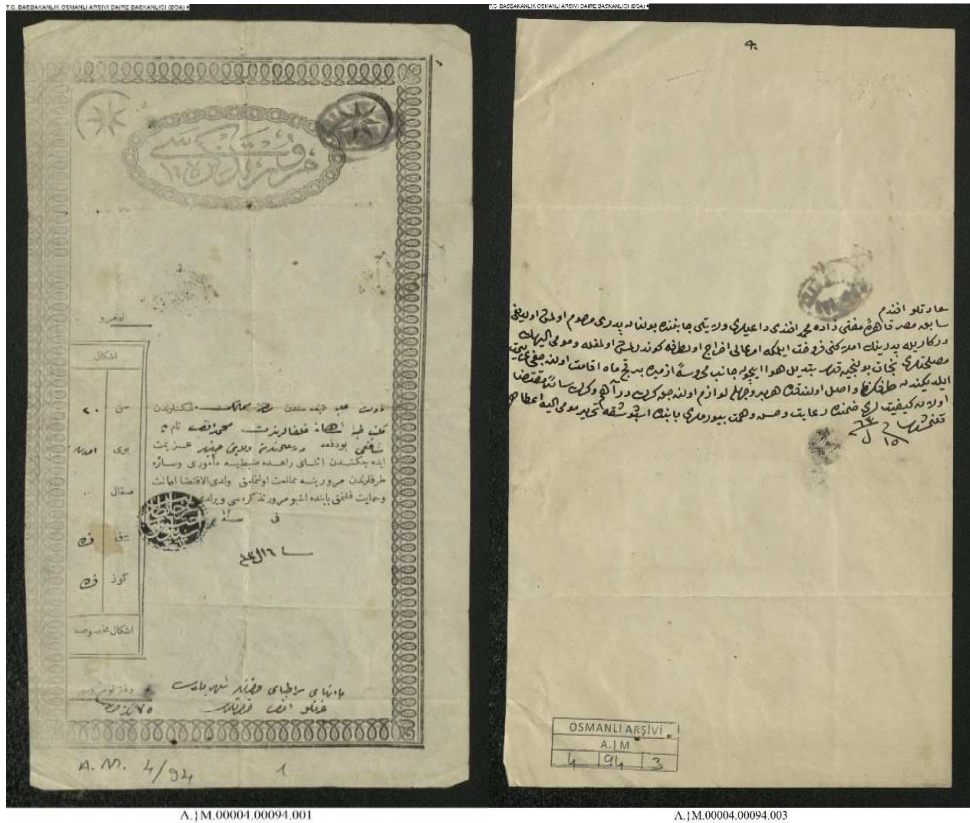
Appendix 3: “An Italian traveler’s request for permission”



A request from the “Zaptiye Nezaret-i Celile” (today’s Police Department) for the mürur certificate of the person named “Santini” who came to Izmir from Italy⁵⁷

⁵⁷ Presidential State Archives of the Republic of Turkey [PSA], A. {MKT.MHM.}, Nr: 534/33. 9 May 1895.

Appendix 4: “A Sample of a *Mürur* Certificate and a Request for Assistance”



A sample of a *mürur* documents with the owner's description on its left side; and a request for help from the Ottoman authorities: “Muftizade Mehmed Efendi will go to Izmir from Egypt to rest for a while and the letter and *mürur* certificate given to Kapıcıbashi Abdulkadir Agha regarding his request to be helped”⁵⁸

⁵⁸ Presidential State Archives of the Republic of Turkey [PSA], A. {M...}, Nr: 21/17), 23. Oct. 1859.

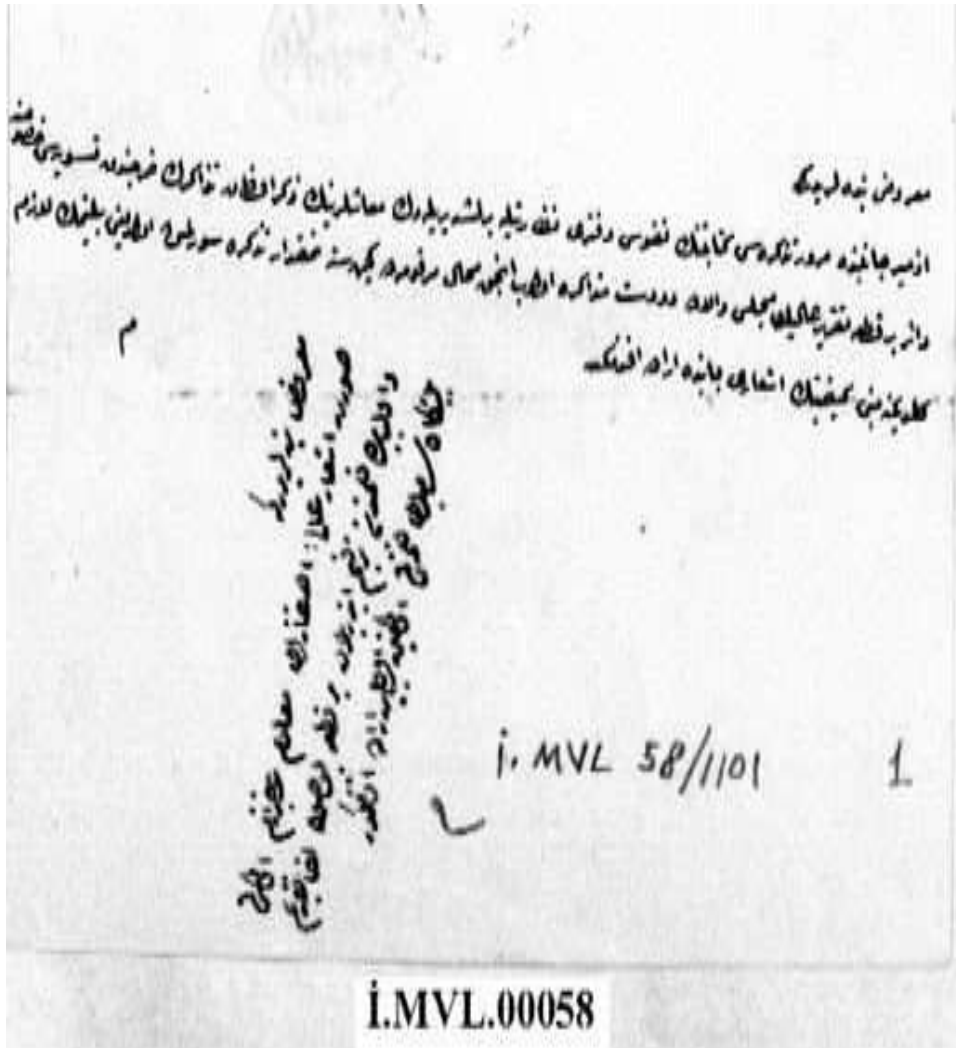
Appendix 5: “*Passport Photos of two Armenian Families which left the Ottoman Empire*”



In the left photo, the members of an Armenian family which received passports and emigrated to the United States. In the right photo, an Armenian family from the village named Miletli in Samsun (Northern Turkey), which left the country to go to their relatives in Russia⁵⁹

⁵⁹ Presidential State Archives of the Republic of Turkey [PSA].FTG. f./348--., September 16, 1905.; Presidential State Archives of the Republic of Turkey [PSA].FTG.f. Nr. 1060--., June 3, 1908.

Appendix 6: “About paying salaries of officials by mürur certificate fees”



A letter regarding the payment of salaries of officials in combination with the *mürur* certificate office located in Izmir (Western Anatolia) with the Ministry of Finance and Population (Ceride Nezareti)⁶⁰

⁶⁰ Presidential State Archives of the Republic of Turkey [PSA], İ. MVL. Nr:58/1101.

Appendix 7: "Internal view of an Ottoman Passport"



The interior view of an Ottoman passport dated August 12, 1923, in the explanation section on the right side of the document, states that Ottoman citizens who wish to obtain a passport must show a guarantor, along with the rules to be followed in order to possess the passport⁶¹

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A Part of Ottoman Centralization Policy: Travel Permits and Their Samples Until the 20th Century

After the disappearance of feudality and the development of central governments, from the 16th century onwards, states wanted to control the movements of their citizens by several documents. These documents were a kind of passports, which were also used as identity documents, and their arrangements varied from country to country. With the undisputed triumph of capitalism and nation-state in 19th century Europe, the state's control over the people was predominantly considered as an internal matter. Competition between states in the economic and military fields revealed the importance of centralization. Statesmen, who wanted to take advantage of this competition, went on to increase control over the activities of their populations.

In the Ottoman Empire, the state-control over the movements of its citizens dates back well before the 19th century. Due to the manorial system in the Ottomans, the peasantry remained attached to their lands and the State imposed criminal sanctions on those who left their lands. There were serious migration waves to Western Anatolia and especially to Con-

stantinople until the 20th century, and therefore it was necessary to prevent the entry of beggars and unemployed people without guarantees to the city. The obligation to have “*yol hükmü*” (road provision), whose name was changed to “*mürur tezkeresi*” (passing compass), was also one of these considerations.

In this study, it is aimed to shed light on the state-control over the people by making use of the Ottoman Archives and the memories of the travellers who visited the Ottoman Empire and aimed to give information about the travel permits and travel documents which were subject to an arrangement since the 19th century.

High Commissioner Bristol's Implementation of Wilsonian Internationalism in Asia Minor and Its Shortcomings

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This article aims to examine the conduct and policies of Rear Admiral Mark Lambert Bristol, the American High Commissioner to Turkey, in the hope of shining light on Woodrow Wilson's post-war aims. Ultimately, it aims to explore the relation between Bristol's actions and Wilson's political desires. A century after the drafting and signing of the Treaty of Versailles, there remains a debate about Woodrow Wilson and Wilsonianism. Several questions immediately arise. To what extent was President Wilson a thoroughly committed idealist, who truly desired to create a new liberal international order? To what extent were his aims primarily realist in nature? Did he make extravagant promises that were designed to cover up solidly realist intentions? If so, did he do this in order to gain public approval for casting away longstanding American traditions against becoming involved in European affairs? As for Rear Admiral Bristol, does his conduct in the Near East coincide with Wilsonian ideas and ideals?

The first question to be asked, however, is what was the general context in which Bristol was operating? America's conception of itself and of its role in the world had, by the end of the First World War, substantially evolved. As American industry expanded in the late 19th century, the search for markets abroad naturally ramped up. However, until the 1890s, direct American involvement abroad was typically limited to Central and South American. This changed dramatically after the Spanish-American War of 1898, which resulted in America's acquisition of colonies in Cuba, Puerto Rico and the Philippines. Now, established as an imperial power in the Pacific, the United States sought to access the markets of China. However, the United States found itself at a serious disadvantage. The great powers already held trade ports in China and shut the door to other powers in their sphere of influence. In addition, the US worried that great power rivalries in the Far East would lead to the partitioning of China, which in turn could lead to a war that would disrupt trade and create greater insecurity for American merchants. But the McKinley administration held on to the American tradition of avoiding entangling alliances, and refused an offer of military alliance from Great Britain that was designed to ensure Chinese territorial integrity. With direct military intervention out of the question, Secretary of State John Hay, taking inspiration from a memorandum written by British customs agent Alfred Hoppisley, proposed the Open Door to the other great powers in China.¹ The Open Door became a central American policy, and would later be invoked by Bristol when dealing with other major powers in Asia Minor. Initially, however, it was employed mainly to establish free trade, or

¹ Cullinane and Goodall, *The Open Door Era: United States Foreign Policy in the Twentieth Century*, 19.

at least freer trade, within China, and as such it aimed to reduce tensions, encourage economic investment, and give the United States an opportunity to enter the region without the need to claim a trade port for itself.

Teddy Roosevelt began, in the early 20th century, to promote a broader international role for the US, but it was not until the election of Woodrow Wilson in 1912 that a clear and broadly conceived view of America's international role began to be enunciated. America's successful involvement in the First World War, as well as the damage suffered by the other major powers, gave this enunciation greater weight than it might otherwise have had. In the Middle East, increased American presence came about for a number of reasons. First, though perhaps not mostly importantly, it was recognized that there were clear possibilities for American industries, businesses and banks to gain markets and to acquire access to raw materials. Second, Wilson himself promoted broader American involvement to help ensure postwar peace settlements were adhered to. For one thing, this meant direct American involvement for the first time in Near East affairs since Wilson accepted, initially at least, the proposal that America should guarantee the security of the planned Armenian mandate. In part, this explains why Admiral Bristol was dispatched as American High Commissioner to Turkey. Eventually, however, Wilson became less enthusiastic about the Armenian mandate as it became clear that the British and French had proposed American control over Armenia largely because, unlike the mandates they sought to procure, it promised little opportunity for profit and would in fact be expensive to maintain. In any case, Admiral Bristol took a very pragmatic view, downplayed the atrocities against the Armenians, and did his best to shelve any possibility of an American mandate.

Second, we need to look at the question of whether Wilson was a realist or an idealist, which runs parallel with another debate concerning what exactly is meant by political idealism or realism. Erez Manela offers some hints that might help in defining "idealism" and "realism". In "Imagining Woodrow Wilson in Asia: Dreams of East-West Harmony and the Revolt against Empire in 1919," he notes:

*"Along with the millions in Europe who cheered Wilson upon his arrival there, Indians and Chinese saw Wilson's wartime rhetoric as a blueprint for a more peaceful and inclusive international order, one in which Asian nations could achieve a greater measure of equality and sovereignty."*²

With this observation in mind, this article will define "idealism" as being a political philosophy intent on creating, as Manela puts it, a more peaceful and inclusive international order. Conversely, "realism" can be seen as political conduct in foreign affairs aimed at advancing the perceived interests of the state in the realm of military, diplomatic, and economic power.³

It is common to believe that after the First World War, America, as if under the influence of cultural and political gravity, rapidly descended back to the isolationist traditions that had, to a great extent, guided the nation's foreign policy since its founding. Largely ignored today, at least among the general public, are the implications of Wilson's failure at

² Manela, "Imagining Woodrow Wilson in Asia," 1332.

³ Robertson, *Dictionary of Modern Politics*, 420.

Paris to make good on his declared vision for a new international order, as well as his failure to exact from his European allies a peace treaty that was actually based on his Fourteen Points, as was promised to both the people of Germany and the United States.⁴ The degree to which responsibility for the Second World War can be laid on the Treaty of Versailles is still debated by scholars, but that the treaty embittered the citizens of a newly democratized Germany is commonly accepted. What is far less acknowledged today is how the conduct of Allied leaders and President Wilson led to the disillusionment of American voters and their representatives in Congress.

As the peace conference moved forward, the victorious nations began to look at each other as potential rivals. Britain saw America as its only possible naval rival. France viewed British expansion as a potential threat. Italy looked to expand in the Mediterranean to the consternation of France and Britain both. Meanwhile, the ascent of the Bolsheviks was met with a sense of panic and impotent frustration. American officials viewed allies' territorial expansion as an impingement on potential exports, and as a violation of the ideals that had rallied the nation to war. In the realm of international politics, America felt rebuffed, but would continue as it had before the war, fostering economic relations. The business of America, after all, was business. However, the willingness of Americans to undertake any new overseas adventures was largely exhausted. It was in this environment of frustration with their old allies, and a withdrawal of America from European political affairs that the American officers, sailors, missionaries, and officials found themselves while serving in the Near East in the aftermath of the First World War.

Admiral Mark Lambert Bristol was fifty years old when he arrived in Constantinople and raised the US flag on his command ship, the converted yacht *Scorpion* at the end of January 1919. His career in the United States Navy had spanned thirty-six years.⁵ Of interest is the fact that when Admiral Bristol was appointed the American High Commissioner to Turkey, he had next to no foreign policy experience; his previous posts had primarily involved the application of his technical expertise in fields such as naval aviation and torpedo maintenance, and he had spent twenty-one years of his navy career at sea.⁶ Bristol's journey to his new command began in Plymouth, England, where he'd been commander of the American naval facilities.⁷ After receiving his orders in London in December, 1918, Bristol travelled to Paris. Here he met with the American delegation and spoke in person with President Wilson, Secretary of State Robert Lansing, and Herbert Hoover of the Food Administration. His instructions could essentially be summed up as "do what is right, and protect American interests." More specifically, he was to oversee the conditions of armistice with the Ottomans, as well as provide support for the Near East Relief and examine the possibilities for mandates in the region. His range of command was to include the waters of the Near East, Black Sea and Greece.⁸

Admiral Bristol's knowledge of the Near East seems to have been based on three events: his meeting with officials in Paris, a quick read through former American Ambassador to the Ottoman Empire, Henry Morgenthau's memoirs, and a conversation with a

⁴ Blakemore, "How the Treaty of Versailles Ended WWI."

⁵ Beers, "United States Naval Detachment in Turkish Waters," 209.

⁶ Shenk, *America's Black Sea Fleet*, 38.

⁷ Beers, "United States Naval Detachment in Turkish Waters," 209–210.

⁸ Ibid. 211.

former American missionary. This missionary, Bristol claimed, had informed him that the peoples of the Near East were ignorant of the difference between right and wrong.⁹ In short, Bristol was assigned to his new command because of his reputation as a military officer, not because of his knowledge of the region. His chief responsibilities, and America's chief interests, in Anatolia and in the Black Sea region were to ensure the lives and property of American missionaries, to assist American business interests, and to help alleviate the unfolding humanitarian crises of the region.

Anyone searching through the Bristol files in the Library of Congress, or reading through secondary sources concerning his position, is sure to rapidly conclude that High Commissioner Bristol's primary focus was on defending and advancing American business interests in the region. These actions were often an attempt to counter the restrictions placed on American business by the other Allied nations, especially Britain. Specifically, Bristol was attempting to advance the old Open Door policy. Thomas Bryson notes, in his article "Admiral Mark L. Bristol, an Open-Door Diplomat in Turkey", that the Allies were hindering American trade through a consumption tax that impeded American exports to Turkey — a tax that was not in accordance with US-Turkish trade agreements. Further, the Allies controlled trade via an Advisory Trade Committee to which they refused the United States membership. Lastly, the Allies in Paris had aligned the arrangement of mandates to ensure that the United States did not have access to the oil rich regions of Mesopotamia.¹⁰ Bristol would do his utmost to undo these restrictions, even going so far as to suggest to one American businessman that he establish a price-fixing syndicate, along with other American businesses, to challenge competitors from other Allied nations.¹¹ From this, it would seem that Bristol was intent on advancing American national interests, in line with a typical realist approach to foreign relations, and on continuing the Navy's "open door" tradition of supporting American trade and business.

However, Bristol's worries about Allied conduct in Asia Minor appear to be partly based in the idealist tradition and partly in the realist tradition. He was clearly concerned with avoiding a future war in the region by preventing further territorial partitioning and by forcing economic equality among the Allies, but he also wanted to promote American commercial interests. While attending an investigation into the Greek landing at Smyrna, Bristol wrote from Paris in November 1919 on the need for an American policy towards Turkey. In it he observes:

"The altruistic reasons for American intervention in Turkish affairs are well known. For those to whom altruism carries no conviction two arguments based on selfishness may suffice: first, the argument of National Safety; secondly, that of Protection to our National Interests.

(1) In the interest of peace we ought not to permit a patchwork division of Turkey, based on the spoils system and callous to local sentiment, such as will certainly be made if America holds aloof. No Power except the United States can prevent the

⁹ Shenk, *America's Black Sea Fleet*, 39.

¹⁰ Bryson, "Admiral Mark L. Bristol, an Open-Door Diplomat in Turkey," 459.

¹¹ Mark L. Bristol Collection, MSS13854, Box 1, November 1919.

carrying into effect of those notorious "secret" agreements, which would lead certainly to war and probably to another world-war.

We ought therefore to join in the Turkish Treaty, and refuse to permit such a settlement even if the refusal costs us money and trouble.

(2) If the United States takes no part, or an apathetic part, in the settlement of the Near East, its material interests must suffer incalculably. Commercial opportunities in Turkey, as well as in the Ottoman territories placed under mandates, will be lost to the United States if it keeps aloof. The only way to maintain in Turkey our traditional trade policy of the "open door" is to be on the spot and hold the door open."

Bristol's outlining of his mission clearly echoes the Open Door policy as it was conceived in relation to China. He wishes to avoid a "patchwork division" of Turkey in the belief that such a partitioning would lead to future wars, a concern American officials had raised earlier with regard to China. Concerning how to avoid future war, Bristol is essentially clear in his thinking and his motives are sound. However, in regard to the Ottoman Empire having siding with the Central Powers, the Turkish campaign of ethnic cleansing during the war, and the unfolding post war conflicts in Anatolia.

In consistently ignoring Turkey's actions, Bristol's reports become deeply skewed, and sometimes puerile. His most glaring omission in his reports is any attempt to come to terms either with the war-time pogroms against Christian minorities in Turkish territories or with the continued post war ethnic cleansing both of the Armenians who managed to return to their pillaged properties and of the Greek civilians in Asia Minor. These and other minorities were now threatened with a new Turkish Nationalist attempt to ethnically purify their future state. Moreover, Bristol repeatedly excuses Turkish massacres by highlighting ethnic cleansing perpetrated by Armenians and Greeks. In his work *America's Black Sea Fleet*, Robert Shenk writes that Bristol's downplaying of the wartime atrocities, as well as those occurring during his tenure, are driven by a "pragmatic naïveté".¹²

It was not that Bristol was wholly or even partly ignorant of the grim details of the crimes that had taken place. Yet, when describing the crimes, he is capable of shifting, almost in one breath, from the mildest depiction of the events in question to a depiction of their full horror and then proceed to lay part of the blame for the deportations and massacres on the victims themselves. For example, shortly after his first excursion to the Caucasus region, he notes in a letter to his wife that many of the deportees had simply not returned because they "were taken too far inland." As Robert Shenk notes, such statements suggest that, in part of his mind at any rate, "Bristol thought the deportees were just living elsewhere, in a more hospitable region (as some Turkish propagandists claimed)."¹³ On the other hand, later in the same letter to his wife, Bristol acknowledges the real Turkish purpose for the deportations: "Greek women and children were first put in the Turkish bath in mid-winter then driven into the country only half alive" and were then left to die "by the wayside of hunger and cold. This was the so-called 'white death.'" But, shortly after describing such events, Bristol's letter adds a caveat to the whole grisly act: "These massacres were terrible beyond description and yet the Greeks and Armenians are most unattractive

¹² Shenk, *America's Black Sea Fleet*, 73.

¹³ Ibid. 72.

and in some ways have irritated the Turks.”¹⁴ One year later, he would make a similar remark in another letter:

“The Armenians have for centuries suffered under Turkish rule and in recent years have been subjected to massacre, deportations, and many cruelties, but it is useless for anyone to disguise to himself the personal characteristics of the Armenians.”¹⁵ Throughout his reports, when discussing ongoing or past massacres against Christians, Bristol’s refrain amounts to ‘horrible massacres... however. Deportations... but.’”

So odd could Bristol’s line of reasoning be that in the aftermath of a Nationalist offensive, Bristol went so far as to blame the Armenians for resisting the Turkish attack. In June of 1921, the American consul in Aleppo wrote the State Department and Admiral Bristol about the heroism of the Armenian population in Aintab. During a prolonged siege of the Armenian quarter, they had protected not only themselves but the American missionaries and doctors who were working there. Bristol’s response to the consul was odd to say the least: “I was very glad to hear the reports of the fight the Armenians put up in Aintab and I think they undoubtedly prevented a massacre or a wholesale killing at that time, but this may only be laying up trouble for themselves in the future... Sometimes discretion is the better part of valor.” Not quite satisfied with the fairness of this conclusion, Bristol engaged in his usual rhetorical maneuvering and added: “The Turks, undoubtedly, want to get rid of the Armenians and will probably exterminate them if they cannot find another means.”¹⁶ This “other means” would, presumably, be deportation. As previously noted, Bristol had already, in a letter to his wife, concluded the intended purpose of the deportations. It’s hard to imagine that he’s somehow forgotten.

What then could lie behind Bristol’s inconsistent line of reasoning? To what ends is his “pragmatic naïveté” deployed? In his August 1921 report, Bristol writes of sending a destroyer to Batoum after a long discussion with his assistant Allen Dulles, the future director of the CIA, and the brother of future Secretary of State John Foster Dulles. Bristol states that, even though being instructed not to offer official assistance to American business interests in conducting business with Bolshevik Russia, he sent his destroyer to Batoum to investigate whether a line of communications could be opened as a prelude to regular visits in the future. He did this not only in the interest of American business, but also in the hopes of assisting American relief organizations. He writes:

“I made up my mind to take the position that the three Republics of the Caucasus are autonomous governments and not a part of Soviet Russia, although the form of government, so far as we know, of all three of these republics is a soviet Government. In this particular Mr. Dulles and I agreed. The question then arose as regards lending assistance to American business men and this was discussed at some length, and Mr. Dulles’ principal objection was that in rendering assistance to American business interests we might compromise the position that our Government had taken

¹⁴ As quoted in *ibid.*

¹⁵ *Ibid.* 73.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* 42.

in all its negotiations with Soviet Russia in this particular. Again I arrived in favor of considering the autonomous Governments of Azerbaijan, of Georgia, and of Armenia, as separate from Soviet Russia, and, even though controlled by Soviet Russia, they were no different from other autonomous governments, for instance Greece, which is controlled by Great Britain."¹⁷

Here, Bristol contends that Greece is, in August of 1921, controlled by Great Britain. This is not quite in line with the reality of the matter. While Britain was cooperating with Greece, after the removal from office of Eleftherios Venizelos in November of 1920, British support for Greek efforts in Asia Minor had been withdrawn. However, the British did still maintain a strong level of economic leverage over the Greek government, and used Greek held areas in Asia Minor to serve as a check upon American imports – a fact that Bristol complains about in his reports. In a sense, it would appear that High Commissioner Bristol views the conflict between the Turks and Greeks as a proxy conflict between the British and the Americans.

In Bristol's reports, it is made repeatedly clear that it is the Greeks who are responsible for the ills of the region. He may at times, as we have seen above, acknowledge the atrocities committed by the Turks during the war, but at nearly every step of the way he downplays their enormity and fails to consider the possibility of providing reparations or security for the survivors. At most, Bristol suggests that the actions of all the local peoples are equally foul. Quite likely, he sees the Turkish crimes as a *fait accompli* and believes that the appropriate response for the "greater good" is to allow the process to work itself out so that the ethnically dominant Turks can re-impose order on the region. This order, Bristol thought, would also be beneficial to American business.

Furthermore, the deportations of minorities and the seizure of their property could also be seen as a step towards progress for the future Turkish state. Moreover, Bristol appears to have accepted that the methods by which Turkish Nationalists wished to make progress, namely through an etatist approach, was not necessarily invalid. There was more behind the American policy of open trade than just dollars and cents. For decades, America had promoted free international trade and the navy had been foremost in furthering, and at times enforcing, this Open Door policy. As Bryson notes:

*"[...] economic expansion is but one side of the coin of the Open Door, for progress, reform and modernization of social and political institutions constitute the reverse... Reform, progress, and modernization of social and political institutions in underdeveloped countries was... a concomitant benefit that would accrue through heightened economic activity."*¹⁸

Similarly, Woodrow Wilson had put forward, in his Fourteen Points, that freedom of trade is important not merely to spread economic benefits but also to induce social and political modernization. Yet the Open Door policy as well as Wilson's arguments were both grounded in a classic liberal "bottom up" view of governance, which held that economic

¹⁷ Mark L. Bristol Collection, MSS13854, Box 3, August 1921.

¹⁸ Bryson, Admiral Mark L. Bristol, an Open-Door Diplomat in Turkey, 458.

improvements would lead to strengthened institutions, which in turn would lead to stability, which in turn would lead to democracy. Bristol may have held this view but he recognized that, at least in the Near East, it could run into difficulties in actual practice. His approach to Anatolian issues actually exhibits a strong appreciation of the competing “top-down,” government-centered, approach to solving social and economic problems. First and foremost in Bristol’s view, the Turkish Nationalists would, as Bryson notes, ultimately bring “the benefits of modern civilization; that is, good government, liberty of religious belief, universal education and at some future time the right of self-determination.”¹⁹ Bristol’s faith in the Nationalists’ ability to bring about positive social change via a top-down approach marks a shift – one which was not uncommon among progressive elements in the United States at this time – toward an acceptance that modern government had to take an active role in social and economic engineering. An examination of Bristol’s formal correspondence, written in the 1930s, to and from major political figures such as J. Edgar Hoover,²⁰ indicates that he was sympathetic towards the application of top-down governance even within America’s borders.

Bristol’s acceptance of the possible validity of top-down government in the region, and his readiness to excuse the Turks for their wartime and postwar atrocities, may well be because he viewed the annihilation of Christian communities and the concomitant seizure of goods and property as acts that were ultimately leading to the establishment of a secure stable state. Concerning the economic motive behind the wartime Ottoman policy of seizing Christian-held property, Ryan Gingeras writes in his work *Sorrowful Shores*:

*“Istanbul’s approach to abandoned property facilitated a collective solution of two problems that had lingered since the Balkan Wars. The acquisition of movable goods on farms and businesses by recently founded Muslim companies helped to complete the process begun during the boycott of 1914 and served further to “strengthen the culture of trade among Muslims” that was so crucial to building a national economy. Expropriation of Christian land also held the added bonus of supplying the tens of thousands of refugees who remained without homes or work since 1912. As a result, all property formerly associated with local Rum [Greeks] and Armenians appeared up for grabs.”*²¹

Economics played a role in Wilson’s vision of a new order, and though America had never declared war on the Ottoman Empire, the region still held a place in Wilson’s 14 points. Further, his aims for the region were in themselves the means to an end: the end being the creation of more liberal societies, the bedrock of which was to be social and political stability grounded in economic growth. Wilson’s aims for the region had two main components. First, he aimed to internationalize the Straits in order to advance free global trade. The final portion of Wilson’s thirteenth point stated that the Dardanelles should be

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ J. Edgar Hoover was a member of the wartime Creel Commission, which had been responsible for propagandizing in favor of American involvement in the Great War, and for monitoring and censoring anti-war publications. He went on to become the FBI’s first director and to be notorious for blackmailing American politicians and public figures.

²¹ Gingeras, *Sorrowful Shores*, 46.

open to free passage under international guarantees. Second, Wilson wished to prevent the further Allied partitioning of the Near East. Bristol was apparently appointed in order to achieve these aims and did so, though by means that would probably have surprised Wilson.

Both of Wilson's main aims are apparent in his cool response to an early peace effort, one promoted by Henry Morgenthau, the former American Ambassador to the Ottoman Empire, in the summer of 1917. Secretary of State Lansing thought Morgenthau's chances of success were slim, but was excited at the chance to achieve peace without victory; Woodrow Wilson, on the other hand, showed no interest in the scheme.²² In the end, Morgenthau's group of peace envoys never made it further than Spain. Wilson, in a note to the State Department, made his views clear:

*"Arrangements must be made at the Conference which closes the war with regard to Constantinople which could hardly be made if Turkey were first made peace with. Indeed, I suppose that peace could be made only at terms which preclude any radical changes of control over Constantinople and the Straits. The only advantage to be gained would be to prevent the bargains of the Allies with regard to Asia Minor from being carried out [in other words, to prevent territorial partitioning]."*²³

In a sense, Bristol's efforts did achieve Wilson's two primary aims for the region – to make the Straits internationalized, and to develop the economy in Asia Minor. However, the means by which this goals were achieved would likely have surprised Wilson. Bristol consistently sided with Mustafa Kemal and the Nationalists, and thus through siding with them, gained good favor for the United States. The Turkish National Pact (*misak-ı milli*), signed in 1920, allowed for the internationalization of the Straits, and this was what Kemal brought forward when trying to avert a crisis with the Allies after the Greeks had been expelled from the region.²⁴ The Straits were internationalized, and the partitioning of Asia Minor was prevented. Further, the success of the Nationalists seemed to hold the promise of a strong unified state capable of developing the national economy.

Despite these successes, the desire of Wilson and Bristol, that of a liberalized economy was not realized, nor was there an increase of Turkish American trade. Bryson characterizes the situation well, but fails to note a significant reason why trade remained moribund and why the Turkish economy could not rebound:

"Unfortunately, Admiral Bristol's efforts did not result in increased American trade with Turkey. Statistics and commerce reports on American trade indicate a marked decline after 1920 and show no appreciable increase by the time Bristol departed Turkey at the conclusion of his tour of duty in 1927. The economic climate in Turkey in the decade of the 1920's simply did not provide an incentive conducive to American investment, because the cautious Turks, shunning the possibility of further foreign economic control, opted for etatism, a policy not at all guaranteed to attract

²² Brecher, "Revisiting Ambassador Morgenthau's Turkish Peace Mission of 1917," 357–359.

²³ As quoted in Brecher, "Revisiting Ambassador...", 359.

²⁴ Mango, *Ataturk*, 348–349.

foreign capital. It was not until the following decade that American investors exhibited an interest in Turkey as a field for investment."²⁵

Mustafa Kemal's statist policies, as Bryson observes, did hinder economic growth and foreign investment in the region. However, Bryson's article is too cut and dried, for it only focuses on apparent economic realities, government policies, and Bristol's efforts to expand and support American trade in the region. Consequently, it misses or steers clear of several crucial elements that explain why economic growth in the region was destined to be stagnant whatever the economic policy of the new regime in Ankara. In doing so, Bryson avoids what should be seen as Bristol's greatest deviation from Wilsonian liberalism while in pursuit of more tangible goals, namely Bristol's failure to condemn or prevent the Nationalists' ongoing destruction of minority communities, nor to condemn their precursors ethnic cleansing in Asia Minor during the First World War. Bryson fails to call Bristol to account, first because he ignores both the destruction of Smyrna at the hands of the Nationalists and the economic consequences, and second because he fails to note the economic implications of the expulsion of the Greeks, the destruction of their communities, as well as the near-total annihilation of the Armenians. Smyrna stood as the trade capital of Western Anatolia, and its destruction, was the final blow to a region that had suffered from ethnic conflict since 1912.

Even some Turkish Nationalists were puzzled at the needless destruction of economic assets. Turkish journalist Falih Rıfki, who was himself a Nationalist, observed of the destruction:

*"Why were we burning down İzmir? Were we afraid that if waterfront mansions, hotels and restaurants stayed in place, we would never be free of the minorities? When the Armenians were deported in the First World War, this same fear made us burn down all the neighbourhoods fit to live in, in Anatolian towns. This did not derive from a simple urge to destroy. A feeling of inferiority had a part in it. It was as if anywhere that resembled Europe was destined to remain Christian and foreign and to be denied to us."*²⁶

Andrew Mango, in his biography of Atatürk, adds that the expulsion and extermination of the Christian minorities was catastrophic for the region, as they were the craftsman that the Turkish economy had relied upon. For example, the Turks, who were known for the prowess of their cavalry, had to rely on Armenian farriers. Those craftsmen were now gone.²⁷ Mustafa Kemal himself recognized this problem. In a public speech in Bursa shortly after the burning of Smyrna, he compared the "general ignorance" of the Turkish population to a disease. "We will acquire knowledge and science wherever they are to be found and we will stuff them into the head of every individual in the country."²⁸ Bristol was hoping to expand trade in a depopulated wasteland that had an extreme dearth of the knowledge and talent required for economic expansion.

²⁵ Bryson, Admiral Mark L. Bristol, an Open-Door Diplomat in Turkey, 466.

²⁶ As quoted in Mango, *Ataturk*, 346–347.

²⁷ Ibid. 368.

²⁸ As quoted in *ibid.* 369.

Bryson also fails, then, to try to make a comparison with a neighboring country that Bristol harbored no end of ill-will towards – Greece. Greece was, in 1921, importing from the United States as much as all the rest of the Balkan nations combined. Further the American trade commissioner to Greece noted in 1929 that it was the United States that had emerged as the greatest foreign influence there.²⁹ This at a time when, as Bryson observes, American trade in Turkey was floundering.

Summed up, Bristol's instructions were "do what is right, and protect American interests." Judging by the loss of trade in Asia Minor, and the expansion of trade in Greece, it seems that, ironically, Bristol might well have served American interests to a far greater extent had he attempted to focus on doing what many people at the time would have considered to be morally right, rather than focusing on the protection of immediate American interests. By ignoring the Nationalists' destruction and expulsion of Christian minorities, he was ultimately doing a serious disservice to the interest of trade, which if he and Wilson could be believed, were to lead to the economic success and social improvements that were key to a more liberal international order. However, as previously noted, a far greater fear for Bristol was that another great war could break out over the spoils system, the Allies' efforts to divvy up the whole region. And as Wilson wrote of Morgenthau's failed peace attempt with the Ottomans, Wilson was balancing the desire for the internationalization of the Straits along side thwarting Allied territorial agreements in Asia Minor. Further, if Bristol did, in fact, see the annihilation of Christian communities as effectively being a *fait accompli*, then it could be that he felt the interest of peace was ultimately served by allowing the inter-communal blood-letting to come to a conclusive end. By siding with the Nationalists against Allied territorial aims, Bristol was trying to ensure what he and Wilson viewed as the two chief deliverers of a more inclusive liberal international order: peace and free trade. It must be noted, however, that by ignoring the plight of dispossessed and endangered minorities, while also ignoring the issue of justice for the Armenians, he was ultimately setting the stage for a future tyrant to remark, "Who remembers the Armenians today?"³⁰

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²⁹ Cassimatis, *American Influence in Greece: 1917–1929*, 10.

³⁰ Adolf Hitler, as quoted in MacMillan, *Six Months That Changed the World*, 377.

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High Commissioner Bristol's Implementation of Wilsonian Internationalism in Asia Minor and Its Shortcomings

This article is an examination of the commonalities and incongruities between Woodrow Wilson's liberal internationalism and the conduct of Admiral Mark Lambert Bristol, America's High Commissioner in Turkey. The article uses both secondary and primary sources to investigate Bristol's policies and statements. It focuses on his lack of concern for the plight of the Armenian and Greek communities in Asia Minor, and his efforts to support American businesses and protect them from restrictions placed by other Allied powers. The article finds that while Admiral Bristol failed to consider issues of justice for minority communities in Turkey, he did, in fact, seek to improve the likelihood of a democratic future for the region by pursuing the Open Door Policy, the internationalization of the Straits, while also attempting to counter European designs on the region. While his aims were aligned with Wilson's desires, Bristol's methods and callousness towards minority communities were not in keeping with Wilson's vision.

Banditry and Subversion in Croatia at the End of the Long Nineteenth Century

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Gradual decline of the Austro-Hungarian political power during the last phase of the First World War went hand in hand with the collapse of its, previously solidly established, repressive mechanisms. This “empire of bureaucrats”¹ with a population of about 52 million people who were being monitored and sanctioned by a network of gradually modernized instances, such as complex judicial organs and police, had to face an obvious discontinuity in terms of wartime surveillance and repression of its subjects. That phenomenon can be largely explained by the fact that the Monarchy mobilized nearly 8 million men between 1914 and 1918,² crippling its well-defined administrative structure in many aspects by sending people of all professions, including police officers, to the battlefield. On one hand, this obviously raised a question of public security and increasing crime rates in some cities, including those in the Kingdom of Croatia-Slavonia. For example, according to certain data, almost 70% of policemen in Osijek, then the second largest Croatian city, were recruited by the military when the war broke out. Moreover, scarcity of the working force and different provisions affected general productivity, while lack of certain materials, such as paper, posed a great challenge to authorities in their attempt to establish an effective communication network with their subordinates, or print new legal regulations. As Pieter Judson explains, the state was facing a severe crisis of legitimacy. Giving extra-large, almost dictatorial authority to the military marked a turning point in the history of the Habsburg Monarchy, radically drifting away from the usual *rechtsstaat*, i.e. “rule of law”.³

In return, wave of socialist revolutions across Europe (Russia, Germany, Hungary) undoubtedly made a significant impact on some members of the partially industrialized Croatian society between 1917 and 1919.⁴ Following the decades of ideological and organiza-

¹ Johnston, *The Austrian Mind*, 45.

² Judson, *Povijest Habsburškog Carstva*, 425.

³ Ibid. 426, 433.

⁴ According to the last Austro-Hungarian census in 1910, Kingdom of Croatia-Slavonia had a population of 2,6 million people and only 8% of them inhabited cities. Great majority of people were engaged in agriculture, while wood processing industry represented the most developed industrial sector on the Croatian territory, backed by foreign investors interested in exploiting local forest resources. Some authors saw this as a cause of “structural deformation of industrial economics” in Croatia, since most factory complexes were situated near sources of raw materials, i.e. in the countryside. Consequently, among other things, this resulted with a relatively low number of city factories and a slow-paced formation of the urban proletariat. Vranješ Šoljan, *Stanovništvo gradova Banske Hrvatske na*

tional development of the domestic labor movement, number of Croatian activists supported or participated in the communist uprising in Russia and Béla Kun's Hungarian Soviet Republic at the very end of the long 19th century.⁵ It is fascinating that even some attempts were made to form short-lived socialist republics on the Croatian or the neighboring Hungarian territory.⁶ Concerning that, the return of soldiers from the Eastern Front, where they were exposed to the Bolshevik ideology, made the distribution of such subversive ideas even stronger, despite authorities' rather ineffective attempts to stop it. In their early writings following the war, some Yugoslav communists referred to the disintegrated Monarchy as "an old fortress of injustice and most awful tyranny [that] crumbled to several states, while its statesmen drowned in their own bog". Calling it "a representative of the imperialist bourgeoisie and noblemen"⁷ they unequivocally advocated a proletarian revolution during and after the *Great War*.

As it was becoming clear that the war defeat was inevitable, and while the concept of a new South Slavic state was getting closer to its political realization, defection hit the Monarchy's army en masse. Groups of army deserters and other radicalized individuals, known as the Green Cadre (*zeleni kadar*), took part in collective banditry that lasted for years in Croatia-Slavonia. According to Jakub S. Beneš, in 1917 81,605 deserters were arrested in the Hungarian half of the monarchy. It is estimated that this number almost doubled to approximately 150,000 in 1918.⁸ Some of these deserters turned to banditry and eventually became well-known historic figures in the Balkans, most notably Jovan Stanisavljević Čaruga who was hanged in 1925 but is still remembered as the "Slavonian Robin Hood".⁹

In short, this paper will question the correlation between the collapse of the Monarchy's repressive mechanisms and economy during the period of significant sociopolitical transformation and the spread of subversive socialist ideas as well as banditry, using the Croatian context as a specific case study. In doing so, author hopes to make a brief contribution to the Southeast European history from below at the end of the long 19th century. The arti-

prijelazu stoljeća, 47, 49.; Karaman, "Društveno-ekonomski uvjeti razvoja Kombinata Beliše do 1918. godine", 225.

⁵ Surely, these were not first manifestations of socialist internationalism among activists who operated in the Kingdom of Croatia-Slavonia. For example, multiple sources tell us that contacts with the Budapest branch of the International Workingmen's Association were established as early as 1871. This was followed by various events related to the wider context of the labor movement, such as declaring support of the Paris Commune, distributing illegal leftist press (communist, anarchist and social democratic), participating in international socialist congress', organizing strikes as signs of protest related to some significant events in other European countries (e.g. 1909 demonstrations in Split after the execution of Spanish anarchist Francisco Ferrer), etc. See more: Pejić, *Historija klasičnog anarhizma u Hrvatskoj: fragmenti subverzije*.

⁶ For example, Serbian-Hungarian Baranya-Baja Republic, a short-lived, Soviet-oriented mini-state, proclaimed in Pécs on 14 August 1921.

⁷ Očak, "Povratnici iz Sovjetske Rusije u borbi za stvaranje ilegalnih komunističkih organizacija uoči Prvog kongresa SRPJ (k)", 17.

⁸ Beneš, "Green Cadres and the Collapse of Austria-Hungary in 1918", 9.

⁹ Čaruga has been rather thoroughly investigated by Croatian historians and various authors interested in this subject. The most recent books I can name are Boris Rašeta's *Čaruga. Legenda o Robinu Hoodu* (Zagreb, 2019), and Vlatko Smiljanić's *Čaruga: životopis slavonskoga razbojnika Jovana Stanisavljevića 1897–1925* (Zagreb, 2020).

cle mostly relies on secondary sources written in Croatian and Serbian, as well as on certain unpublished archival and press materials.

On the brink of collapse

Although it had seemed at first that the war could offer different options for redesigning the Austro-Hungarian Empire – as conservatives hoped to use it to “turn back the clock on the political democratization of recent years”, or as nationalist saw it as a chance of attaining desired regional autonomy, greater linguistic rights, etc. – it eventually marked the last chapter of the Dual Monarchy. Narrative of patriotic sacrifice could not mask the fact that the war was radically transforming society, whose state was continuously failing to provide adequate nutrition, heating fuel or other benefits for families of its soldiers. “A state that could not ameliorate its peoples’ intense and dramatic suffering imperiled its popular legitimacy”, Judson explains. Also, authorities on all levels encountered a serious problem of personnel deficit – ranging from policemen to teachers. Moreover, problematic individuals such as black-market merchants, illegal prostitutes or politically radicalized soldiers returning from the front started to appear in places all across the monarchy. In addition, food supplies drastically decreased during the war as production collapsed and import was blocked. The fact that the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy lost to the Russians agriculturally indispensable region of Galicia, with its one-third of all Austrian farmland, served as a new blow to the state. Malnutrition caused a rise in tuberculosis rates in cities such as Vienna, while police reports in Prague “noted the increased dangers of violent incidents thanks to the practice of all-night queuing”.¹⁰

Even though the territory of the Kingdom of Croatia-Slavonia was not directly caught by the war, i.e. it was not encompassed by any of the fronts, Croatian military and civilian casualties surpassed approximately 200,000 people.¹¹ Ivo Goldstein emphasizes that urban life was devastated as many newspapers ceased publication and businesses were forced to close down. “The economy was a shambles. [...] Apathy was everywhere”, he writes.¹² The war economy which implied requisitioning in the villages created a great number of impoverished peasants, while popular discontent was rising. On the other hand, food shortages arguably sharpened the conflict between the urban and the rural population. Some peasants only temporarily used an increase in prices to their advantage, since mass mobilization, relentless requisition, speculative trading, and state’s monopoly on buying certain goods evidently burdened them. Accumulated food was mostly stored in inadequate spaces where it was easily spoiled, while wealthier individuals used bribe to acquire larger portions of supplies. Mobilization also enormously affected rural families considering the fact that most able-bodied men were recruited, leaving farming obligations to women, elderly and chil-

¹⁰ Judson, *Povijest Habsburškog Carstva*, 425–427, 439, 443.

¹¹ For example, Ivo Goldstein argues that during the First World War there were about 137,000 military and 109,000 civilian casualties from Croatia. Most civilian victims can be ascribed to hunger, bad living conditions, epidemics and diseases such as the Spanish flu. Goldstein, *Hrvatska povijest*, 324.

¹² Goldstein, *Croatia. A History*, 108.

dren. In general, according to Branka Boban, majority of Croatian politicians at that time were not able to grasp the gravity of prevailing economic and social problems.¹³

Zagreb, the largest city of Croatia, was forced to deal with a certain increase in crime rates during the war period, determined by deficits in police force¹⁴ and decline in the standard of living. Among the conscripts who were coming to the city for training, there were some who had been previously registered as criminals. Military personnel caused the most problems for the safety of citizens and their property on weekends, as soldiers on leave got drunk and initiated fights. Marko Vukičević elaborates that criminality in Zagreb during the *Great War*, with the occasional occurrence of serious crimes such as murder, according to articles from the local newspapers, was marked by a large number of frauds, thefts and burglaries. Frauds often took place as naive customers gave charitable contributions to false humanitarian initiatives, while stealthy pickpockets operated on trams and city streets.¹⁵ In 1915 a newspaper reported that “various pickpockets and conmen” had been rarely tracked, blaming them for a growing sense of insecurity in town.¹⁶

In addition to their usual duties, such as investigating and sanctioning various offenses, the outbreak of war gave policemen a number of new tasks. Thus, the city police had a responsibility to prevent circulation of unverified war news or rumors that could potentially trouble the population. Therefore, all passengers who arrived by train were checked at stations in order to prevent smuggling of any undesired press from neutral and enemy countries. Police officers also had to keep an eye on illegal prostitutes, child beggars, prisoners of war and their movements, as well as they had to control adherence to the prescribed maximum prices and defined working time (decision was made to close stores earlier in the winter to save firewood and lighting materials).¹⁷ On top of that, on 24 July, the Land Government issued a warrant to the Royal Police Committee of Zagreb for making a list of “politically suspicious persons”.¹⁸ According to Vukičević, exact crime rate in the city of Zagreb during the *Great War* is still not known. He adds: “However, according to newspaper articles, there was a steady increase in the number of crimes and misdemeanors committed each year”.¹⁹ In her research, Valentina Kezić came to a conclusion that snippets about thefts in the Croatian capital were prevailing in crime columns of the wartime press.²⁰

Swelling numbers of crimes against property can be attributed to the generally unfavorable social environment outlined by the rise in prices of goods and household necessities, severely affecting the poorest urban classes and resulting in high child mortality. The city authorities could no longer ensure normal functioning, especially in the field of supplying

¹³ Boban, “Socijalni problemi i njihov utjecaj na raspoloženje najširih slojeva u Banskoj Hrvatskoj prema stvaranju jugoslavenske države 1918. godine”, 211–228.

¹⁴ According to some authors, mobilization decreased the number of policemen in Zagreb by 60%. See: Jurić, “Zagreb u Prvome svjetskom ratu: povijesne novine kao izvor za istraživanje socijalne povijesti”, 128.

¹⁵ Vukičević, “Kriminalitet u Zagrebu 1914–1918.”

¹⁶ “Nesigurnost od raznih žepara i varalica”, *Jutarnji list*, Zagreb, 4 January, 1915.

¹⁷ Vukičević, “Kriminalitet u Zagrebu 1914–1918.”

¹⁸ Vukičević, “Aspects of Personal Freedom During the First World War in Zagreb”, 99.

¹⁹ Vukičević, “Kriminalitet u Zagrebu 1914–1918.”

²⁰ Kezić, “Urbani kriminal u zagrebačkom dnevnom tisku”, 57.

basic necessities and securing public safety of its citizens and their property.²¹ Everyday life was also obviously determined by the state of emergency introduced on 27 July 1914 which suspended civil rights or, as it was described, “modified constitutionality i.e. legality”. It limited the freedom of movement and commerce, flow of information, public gatherings, etc. Vukičević reminds us that “disturbing the public peace and order” became a criminal act, as did “insulting His Majesty” or speaking out against the army.²² (Appendix 1.)

In a time of nationalism and militarization, those who did not belong to the dominant ethnic group, such as the Romani people, were pushed even further to the margins of society. Timothy B. Smith states that this was particularly the case in the Austro-Hungarian Empire.²³ Being discriminated against as disease carriers and thieves, “Gypsies” were the target of several repressive solutions aiming to restrict their mobility and activities in the Kingdom of Croatia-Slavonia. Most notably, the Land Government issued an order on 23 August, 1916 that forbade the “ordinary wandering” of the Roma and obliged the city authorities to keep lists or “registers” of all “Gypsy wanderers”. Horses, mules, donkeys, foals and carts were confiscated from the Roma, while everyone between the ages of 18 and 50, “or who looked that old” had to be sent for recruitment.²⁴

Situation in other Croatian cities at that time was as equally demanding as it was in Zagreb. For example, in Osijek, the administrative and economic center of the eastern region of Slavonia, almost $\frac{3}{4}$ of police officers were mobilized. Prompted by this, in the fall of 1914 city authorities organized the so-called Civil Guard of Osijek, a squad of volunteers willing to patrol the streets and maintain order. Understandably, their purpose was to assist the regular police, that is, to take care of public safety in places such as the main town square, during appropriations, at ceremonies, etc. They also helped with transports of injured soldiers, secured high officials or even engaged as firefighters. Despite all challenges, the Civil Guard of Osijek remained to be the only organization of this kind in the Monarchy that operated in full scope throughout the war, along with a similar squad in Vienna.²⁵ (Appendix 2.)

The largest Croatian city in the east was flooded with thousands of new faces – wounded people, soldiers and their families, prisoners of war, civilians from war-torn areas, and others. Arrival of captured Russians from the Eastern Front posed a challenge to the local authorities who had to find an adequate location to set up a camp in which members of the enemy army could be detained. The capacity of the existing prison was simply not suitable for an emergency situation like this. Therefore, in the spring of 1915, about 1,500 Russians were placed in an improvised camp in the southern part of the city. Shortly afterwards, given the economic crisis and uncultivated fields, with the permission of the government it became possible to use prisoners as an additional labor force during mowing, harvesting, or in various private enterprises.²⁶ Around 1,200 Russians, who worked on the

²¹ Jurić, “Zagreb u Prvome svjetskom ratu: povijesne novine kao izvor za istraživanje socijalne povijesti”, 129, 140.

²² Vukičević, “Aspects of Personal Freedom During the First World War in Zagreb”, 97, 110.

²³ Smith, “Marginal People”, 183.

²⁴ State Archives in Osijek, City government of Osijek (HR-DAOS-10), box no. 6454, “Cigani skitalci”, letter of ban Ivan Skerlec, no. 69.270/1916, 23 August, 1916.

²⁵ Grubišić, “Osječka građanska garda u Prvom svjetskom ratu”, 114–117.

²⁶ Pejić, “Crime and Repression in Osijek within the Framework of Modernization (1868–1918)”, 292.

bishop's estate in the nearby town of Đakovo, were described as hard-working "strong, healthy and well-built blonde men" who were helping the locals to gather crops.²⁷ Extraordinary conditions of the First World War surely compelled the state to come up with impromptu measures such as these.

Despite previously developed control mechanisms, during the war Osijek was swept by illegal prostitution which boosted the spread of venereal diseases, widely among soldiers. For example, it is recorded that the Royal Hungarian 28th Home Guard Infantry Regiment complained that more than one hundred of its soldiers had been infected in brothels across Osijek between October 1915 and January 1916.²⁸ Of course, there were numerous arrests for secret prostitution, and the local newspapers described the phenomenon as a "plague" accompanied by "litters of immorality" in which "bestial orgies" took place.²⁹

Deterioration of the administrative and repressive structures under the pressure of the *Great War* was also visible in other areas. In the region of Syrmia, in 1914 official county reports stated that there was a lack of the teaching staff since many teachers had gone to the battlefields "performing a sublime civic duty, fighting for the king and the homeland".³⁰ The consequences of the war were also noticeable within the police force. According to the county report, professional policemen had to be temporarily replaced with "other physically less capable persons". Consequently, an "abundance" of different violations happened during this period.³¹ The problem of the untrained and incompetent police force, composed predominantly of the local population, remained apparent throughout the war-period. "Supervision of foreigners, politically unreliable persons, internees and evacuees was conducted intensively. An accurate list is kept of all of them, as well as of changes related to foreigners", reads the 1915 county report.³² In any case, the economic situation in Syrmia in 1917 became almost unbearable: "Great demands were placed on the masters, and especially on the farmers. [...] With countless troubles, they had to master economic affairs. Labor shortages, lack of working animals, scarcity of industrial and handicraft products, disparity in prices [...] and the fact that certain sections of the population feel the plight of the war too much, while others become richer as a result".³³

Coastal regions of Istria and Dalmatia, which belonged to the Austrian part of the Monarchy, faced challenges of their own between 1914 and 1918. In Istria, neither the military nor the civilian authorities could ensure an orderly and adequate supply of necessary goods. Apparently turbulent situation was used by frauds to their advantage as there were cases of individuals presenting themselves as soldiers conducting requisition.³⁴ At the beginning of April 1918, Emperor Charles I visited the peninsula. The occasion was used by the inhabitants of Kanfanar to inform him that they were getting too little food, that they had not re-

²⁷ "Ruski zarobljenici u Hrvatskoj", *Jutarnji list*, Zagreb, 6 August, 1915.

²⁸ Filipović, "Reguliranje prostitucije u Osijeku na prijelazu iz 19. u 20. stoljeće", 154.

²⁹ "Škandalozno otkriće", *Hrvatska obrana*, Osijek, 18 September, 1915.

³⁰ *Izveštaj kraljevskog podžupana Županije srijemske...*, Vukovar, 1914, 213.

³¹ *Ibid.* 231.

³² *Izveštaj kraljevskog podžupana Županije...*, Vukovar, 1915, 208.

³³ *Izveštaj kraljevskog podžupana Županije...*, Vukovar, 1917, 165.

³⁴ "Opomena", *Hrvatski list*, Pula, 15 June, 1916.

ceived fat for six months and matches for seven months, etc.³⁵ Being near the Italian front and under numerous air raids,³⁶ both rural and urban residents had to leave their homes during the war and move to the Monarchy's interior territories (the Czech lands, Hungary). Desolate towns, ruined crafts, abandoned fields and requisitioned cattle threatened to destroy the already fragile Istrian economy.³⁷

Filip Škiljan states that "Dalmatia in the First World War was not on the brink of starvation, but deeply in it". Dalmatians were affected by the news coming from the frontline, informing about captured soldiers or their deaths. Furthermore, barren land made hunger and malnutrition omnipresent. While families of the mobilized soldiers received help, it was not nearly sufficient for living since basic goods were either unavailable or were highly expensive. Over the last two years of the war, hundreds of Dalmatian children were deported to Croatia or Slavonia, where living conditions were a bit better.³⁸

How harsh the situation was is illustrated by the fact that during 1917 Dalmatian soldiers began sending food back home, as well as various stolen items from the occupied lands, to help their relatives. Ante Bralić writes that families could afford meat only once a week, bad bread and various unhealthy food surrogates. At the beginning of 1918 problems related to supply peaked, undermining the general morale of the population. "When we add to this the policy of the Soviets after the October Revolution of 1917 and their proposals for just and immediate peace without annexation and compensation, as well as Wilson's thesis on the autonomy of the Austro-Hungarian peoples, we get the preconditions for resistance to the former Austro-Hungarian state", Bralić argues.³⁹

Deserters, bandits and revolutionaries

As Beneš puts it, major desertions within the Austro-Hungarian crumbling military force can be perceived as some sort a low-level resistance manifested through non-compliance and symbolic subversion of hierarchy. "Lacking any obvious political or revolutionary content, the act of escaping from most coercive state of institutions and hiding in one's home district amounts to a rejection of the state and its authority," suggests the same author. As the war lingered, sources tell us, the number of apprehended deserters and violent clashes between them and the gendarmerie increased. By April 1918 the Habsburg empire had seven infantry divisions deployed in the hinterland to quell unrest and insubordination," writes Beneš, adding that there was a sharp rise in desertion in the Hungarian half of the state.⁴⁰ For many, especially for Slavs of the empire, the war started to seem like a lost

³⁵ Mandić, "Pulski Hrvatski list (1915–1918) – zapisi o 'evakuircima' s područja Pomorske utvrde Pula", 804.

³⁶ For example, the city of Pula was bombed 41 times during the First World War. Vranješ-Šoljan, "Prikaz knjige Davor Mandić, Istra u vihoru Velikog rata".

³⁷ Dukovski, "Istra XX. stoljeća (1900–1950)", 146.

³⁸ Jovanović, "Gladno lice ratne Dalmacije". Also see: Škiljan, *Prvi svjetski rat u Dalmaciji (1914–1918)*.

³⁹ Bralić, "Zadar u vrtlogu propasti Habsburške Monarhije (1917–1918.)", 244.

⁴⁰ More precisely, these are the numbers for the Hungarian half of the Monarchy: a) *deserters apprehended*: 1914: 6, 689, 1915: 26, 251, 1916: 38, 866, 1917: 81, 605, Jan. – Mar. 1918: 46, 611, 1918: 150,000; b) *armed clashes*: 1914: 7, 1915: 93, 1916: 129, 1917: 464, Jan. – Mar. 1918: 275, 1918: 1,200. Beneš, "Green Cadres and the Collapse of Austria-Hungary in 1918", 7–9.

cause as concrete political arrangements, focused at formation of the first Yugoslavian state, were made. In Goldstein's words, "world politicians increasingly accepted that Austria-Hungary would not survive the war".⁴¹

*"More or less from the beginning, Entente members energetically discussed possible territorial gains after their victory at the expense of Austro-Hungarian lands, including Croatia. Both Serbia and Italy were interested in acquiring large portions of Croatia. In the secret Treaty of London of April 1915, the Entente powers promised Croatian territories deeper inland, as a reward for breaking off its alliance with the Central Powers and joining the Entente. On the other hand, Serbia knew that it too would obtain much Austro-Hungarian territory to its west and north if it emerged on the winning side in the war. Croatian politicians seem to have been aware of the games that were being played with the Croatian territory, but they were wrong in imagining that they would have any serious say in postwar decision making. Some of them turned east because they thought that Croatia would have a better future in a common state with Serbia and Montenegro than if it remained part of Austria-Hungary. To implement this idea, the Jugoslavenski odbor (Yugoslav Committee) was formed in Paris in April 1915."*⁴²

Along with noticeable national and social problems, living conditions became even more difficult at the end of the long 19th century, especially in the South Slavic territories of the Monarchy. Villages were overwhelmed with requisition commissions, moneylenders, and municipal notaries. Bogdan Krizman described the atmosphere using the following words: "*It creaks on all sides. It is felt in the air that war and the state of war will not and cannot last long. At the front, the number of deserters is growing day by day. Dissatisfaction and misery are becoming more and more apparent, as well as the inability of the authorities to govern and command*".⁴³

In newly-created cracks of the dying state, discontent, banditry and revolutionary prospects were emerging. Several months before capitulation, Austro-Hungarian authorities concluded that "Green Cadre" is used as a common expression in the language of deserters when referring to a free life of roaming and poaching. Eventually, these forest roving bands and insubordinate individuals, that were about fifty thousand strong among Croats, Serbs and Bosnians by September 1918,⁴⁴ became a significant factor in the imperial disintegration, combining nationalist, internationalist and revolutionary impulses in their activities. Beneš points out that the Green Cadre "represented a more active form of desertion than a mere escape from military duty". He even argues that the Green Cadre was probably the

⁴¹ Goldstein, *Croatia. A History*, 109.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Krizman, *Raspad Austro-Ugarske i stvaranje jugoslavenske države*, 17–18.

⁴⁴ Tomislav Bogdanović reminds us of different estimates related to the outspread of Green Cadre. For example, Bogumil Hrabak writes about approximately 250,000 deserters from the South Slavic states, 50,000 of them in Croatia and Slavonia. Another author, Dinko Čutura, concludes that there were between 60,000 and 70,000 Green Cadre deserters at the same territory. See more: Bogdanović, "Kategorije zelenog kadra 1918. godine i osvrt na njihovo djelovanje u Podravini i Prigorju", 97, n. 8.

last major rural insurgency in East Central Europe.⁴⁵ It included deserters from the Austro-Hungarian army, but also impoverished peasants in northern Croatia and in regions outside of the gendarmerie's control.⁴⁶

Merchants, landlords, various local leaders and priests constituted usual targets of their attacks. These acts of violence were often a mixture of plain robbery and ideologically more specific rebellious goals, partially derived from the Russian Revolution and founded in a belief in a new world of redistributed land, unburdened by officials, nobility, greedy tradesmen and moneylenders. Although the Green Cadre did not have any central leadership or a program, some larger groups possessed basic forms of organization. They chose peculiar yet defiant names ("mountain elves", "green commune", "mountain birds", etc.), created primitive laws that included severe corporal punishment and executions, elected leaders (often called *dukes* or *harambashes*, just like the ancient Balkan outlaws) and provided them with specific symbols of power. When the core of the Green Cadre had been strengthened by the influx of local peasants, the term outgrew its original meaning and became synonymous with any form of rural rebellion.⁴⁷

Some authors, like Tomislav Bogdanović, suggest that there were at least four categories of the Green Cadre in Croatia, each with a different agenda. One of them is described as an antiwar movement whose members, in most cases, did not participate in robberies. They usually returned to their villages and hid with the help of relatives and locals, waiting for the end of the war. It is necessary to note that desertion was punishable by death, so a good shelter was of significant importance. Second category can be attributed with revolutionary traits, as the movement of the rural poor, encouraged by prisoners returning from the Russian front, sought a solution to the fundamental question of the agrarian reform.⁴⁸ The third category consists of robbers and criminals, most active after the establishment of the State of Slovenes, Croats and Serbs,⁴⁹ or at the very end of the war and after the general amnesty of all prisoners. Returnees from the front represent the last category. These individuals repeatedly encountered difficulties when trying to reach home (e.g. poorly organized rail transport, hunger, thirst and diseases) and did not abstain from robbing huge warehouses of flour, sugar, and coffee, burning shops and hospitals, etc.⁵⁰

In the "wet and cold" autumn of 1918,⁵¹ riots spread throughout the Kingdom of Croatia-Slavonia as district officials were talking about "frightening images of looting and destruction", and "times of great riots and horrors".⁵² Bogumil Hrabak described these lands

⁴⁵ Beneš, "Green Cadres and the Collapse of Austria-Hungary in 1918", 2, 4, 6, 10–11.

⁴⁶ Goldstein, *Croatia. A History*, 109.

⁴⁷ "Zeleni kadar", Leksikografski zavod Miroslav Krleža.

⁴⁸ Miroslav Krleža, a prominent figure in cultural life of both Yugoslav states, never managed to overcome the regret for the lack of Leninist organization over the "peasant rebellious anarchy". For Krleža, the Green Cadre was "a missed revolutionary situation". Ibid.

⁴⁹ On 29 October, 1918, the Croatian Parliament (Sabor) declared the country's secession from Austria-Hungary. Croatia subsequently joined the State of Slovenes, Croats and Serbs, which was united with Serbia to form the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes on 1 December, 1918.

⁵⁰ Bogdanović, "Kategorije zelenog kadra 1918. godine i osvrt na njihovo djelovanje u Podravini i Prigorju", 99–104.

⁵¹ Martan, "Ustanak 'pokvarenih elemenata' protiv 'izrabljivačkih elemenata'", 600.

⁵² Bogdanović, "Kategorije zelenog kadra 1918. godine i osvrt na njihovo djelovanje u Podravini i Prigorju", 97.

as the center of “desertion movement”, adding that fugitives received help not only from the local population but occasionally also from some Sabor members, who threatened the Croatian government to obstruct parliamentary discussions if persecutions of deserters had not been stopped.⁵³ In any case, during the final months of 1918 notorious Green Cadre bands, such as Čaruga’s “The Circle of Mountain Birds”, were formed and continued to execute criminal activities well after the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, indicating the repressive inabilities of the new state, as well as widespread disappointment with the post-Habsburg political system. Čaruga and his gang robbed the rich, mostly of German, Jewish and Croatian origin, throughout Slavonia, Syrmia and Baranja.⁵⁴ Although he had entered the realm of a legendary “noble robber”,⁵⁵ while he was still alive, Čaruga was caught, tried and hanged after years of persecution in front of thousands of interested witnesses in 1925 in Osijek. (Appendix 3.)

However, active expression of dissatisfaction and opposition to the current situation was not limited to the exhausted and disillusioned soldiers or loosely organized bandits. Urban factory workers put on demonstrations, often embracing radical slogans of the Bolshevik revolution. The general mobilization took tens of thousands of Croatian workers to the battlefields, which somewhat passivated the socialist movement. Nonetheless, on 1 May, 1918 workers from Osijek went on general strike and prepared a statement declaring that just and permanent peace must be assured. The workers advocated independent national states, emphasizing how transition from capitalism to socialism would serve as the key precondition for preventing future wars.⁵⁶

According to the research by Mira Kolar Dimitrijević, in 1918 the workers made up a fifth of the total population of the city of Zagreb with a clear tendency of further demographic growth.⁵⁷ The end of the First World War and the establishment of a new state were greeted by some Zagreb workers, who were shouting revolutionary slogans as Karl Liebknecht’s proclamation calling on the proletariat to start a socialist revolution spread through the city.⁵⁸ On March 30, 1919, a public assembly was held and it was attended by approximately 4,000 people. The resolution which was adopted, among other things, claimed the following: “Bearing in mind that today’s world is openly divided into two fronts – on the one hand the united revolutionary socialist army of the whole world, on the other the united yellow and black army of the counterrevolution – our place is in the red revolutionary socialist ranks”.⁵⁹

⁵³ However, when the short-lived State of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes was formed, Bogdan Medaković, president of the Croatian assembly, criticized the deserters as “not only thieves and arsonists, bandits and killers, but also enemies of the people”. Hrabak, “Dezerterstvo i zeleni kadar u jugoslavenskim zemljama u Prvom svetskom ratu”, 20. Čulinović, *Odjeci Oktobra u jugoslavenskim krajevima*, 92.

⁵⁴ Smiljanić, “Zločin i kazna Jovana Stanisavljevića Čaruge”, 38.

⁵⁵ See: Hobsbawm, *Bandits*, 46–62.

⁵⁶ Plečaš, *Prvomajske proslave u Osijeku*, 31.

⁵⁷ Kolar Dimitrijević, “Obrisi strukture radničke klase međuratnog razdoblja u svjetlu privrednog razvitka”, 117.

⁵⁸ Stipetić, *Komunistički pokret i inteligencija...*, 112.

⁵⁹ Sentić, Lengel-Krizman, *Revolucionarni Zagreb 1918-1945 (kronologija)*, 10.

In January 1918, a seven-day general strike was organized in Pula, Monarchy's main military port, under the slogans such as "WE WANT AN END TO THE WAR", "PEACE WITHOUT ANNEXATION AND WAR REPARATIONS", "PEACE WITHOUT HUMILIATING TREATIES", "PEACE WITHOUT OPPRESSION OF THE PEOPLE", "FREEDOM", "EQUALITY", etc.⁶⁰ About 10,000 people took part in the strike, and workers of various nationalities joined in, including the Germans from the shipyard. After the strikers had written their requests on special lists, public assemblies were held calling for improved living conditions, end of the war, return of refugees, and conclusion of a just peace without annexation. Various languages were spoken, while demands were made for the creation of workers' and soldiers' council.⁶¹ Catalogue of socialist ideas present among the workers in the Croatian cities included different ideological concepts, ranging from social-democracy, anarchism (especially in Istria) and communism, to vague leftist notions.

Anyway, subversive intentions were significantly multiplied by returnees from the Russian front who witnessed the October Revolution. War-weary people looked hopefully to the Russian "example" that "wind from the east".⁶² Ivan Očak estimates that there were roughly 200,000 Yugoslavian prisoners of war in 1917 Russia. He adds that thousands of those who took a direct part in the revolutionary events did not return to their homeland. However, many felt that the progressive ideas accepted by the Russian workers and peasants should be implemented at home as well. Accordingly, it is recorded that one Yugoslav participant of the October Revolution stated: "We promise you that we will not reconcile and that we will act to the last breath, as long as the last capitalist tyrant disappears from our country".⁶³ Due to this, when the war ended quarantines were established, through which the returnees had to pass. They were interrogated there by a special commission regarding their stay in Russia and potential exposure to subversive ideas. In other words, quarantine was to establish whether anyone was "infected with Bolshevism". These men, even after passing the quarantine, were under the watchful eye of the authorities who followed their movements very carefully.⁶⁴ Despite that, Yugoslav activists found ways to participate in socialist coups that took place in nearby countries as many, for example, went to Hungary to support the Soviet Republic of Béla Kun. At the same time, communists in Slavonia were preparing strikes of solidarity with the Kun's regime. Because of that, 49 people were arrested in Osijek in July 1919, including soldiers and railway workers. For the same reason, apprehensions were also made in the area of Valpovo and Belišće.⁶⁵ Since the authorities were told that an "underground council" had been organized in Croatia, in which the departments of the "future Bolshevik government" were already assigned, the first anti-communist trial in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes soon began before the military court in Zagreb.⁶⁶

We can certainly identify various influences of the October Revolution on the post-war events that took place in the territory of the new state. Obviously, the Communist Party of

⁶⁰ Crnobori, *Borbeni Pula*, 80.

⁶¹ Ujčić, *Pula – od najstarijih vremena do danas sa okolicom*, 215–216.

⁶² Beneš, "Green Cadres and the Collapse of Austria-Hungary in 1918", 27.

⁶³ Očak, "Iz povijesti jugoslavenske emigracije u SSSR-u između dva rata", 117–118.

⁶⁴ Rajković, "Oktobarska revolucija i jugoslavensko radništvo", 84.

⁶⁵ Kovačev, *Na zajedničkom frontu revolucije...*, 148.

⁶⁶ Korać, *Povjest radničkog pokreta u Hrvatskoj i Slavoniji*, I, 275

Yugoslavia was formed in 1919. In spite of its initial success in elections for the Constitutional Assembly, the Party was banned by the authorities in 1920. Also, one of the most significant early manifestations of the impact made by the Russian revolution in Yugoslavia was the Labin Republic. This short-lived self-governing republic was established by workers who, motivated by the difficult economic situation and repressive politics of the Italian administration, took over the management of the mine in the spring of 1921. Over one month of the Republic's existence, red flags fluttered everywhere, while order was maintained by the established committees and guards of armed miners.⁶⁷ In the end, although it was crushed by the military intervention, the Labin Republic is still remembered as one of the earliest antifascist rebellions in the world. (Appendix 4.)

Notwithstanding the disintegration of the Austria-Hungary, there was no profound breakup with the past because of the apparent continuity of administrative structures and social discontent. Judson elaborates that radical cut with imperial institutions, practices, or legal systems was not done: "Nor did Austria-Hungary's disappearance change most people's lives. Ongoing crises of food provision, housing, and disease haunted Central Europeans for several years following the official end of the war".⁶⁸ The estates of rich peasants, old feudal lords and parishes, shops, municipal offices, post offices and railway stations were looted by, as contemporary sources describe them, "corrupt elements", i.e. war veterans accompanied by poverty-stricken peasants.⁶⁹ In the fall and winter of 1918, National Council of Slovenes, Croats and Serbs in Zagreb received numerous telegrams describing "the most awful anarchy" in Brod, "destruction and robbing" in Slunj, "riotous masses" in Rakovica, "nest of Bolshevism" in Daruvar,⁷⁰ "stinking sheep [and his] social-anarchist speech" in Bišкупci,⁷¹ etc. On the other hand, as Beneš notes, masses in Croatia sometimes associated the Green Cadre with the principle of national self-determination, celebrating it, along with Woodrow Wilson and Tomáš Masaryk, in public demonstrations.⁷² Indeed, "it was boiling everywhere"⁷³ in 1919 and tensions went on. Merciless military response to social revolutionism left many issues unresolved, deepening the further instability of the new South Slavic political union.

⁶⁷ Rajković, "Oktobarska revolucija i jugoslavensko radništvo", 84–85.

⁶⁸ Judson, *Povijest Habsburškog Carstva*, 428.

⁶⁹ Martan, "Ustanak 'pokvarenih elemenata' protiv 'izrabljivačkih elemenata'", 593–594.

⁷⁰ Krizman, "Grada o nemirima u Hrvatskoj na kraju g. 1918.", 114, 120, 122, 127.

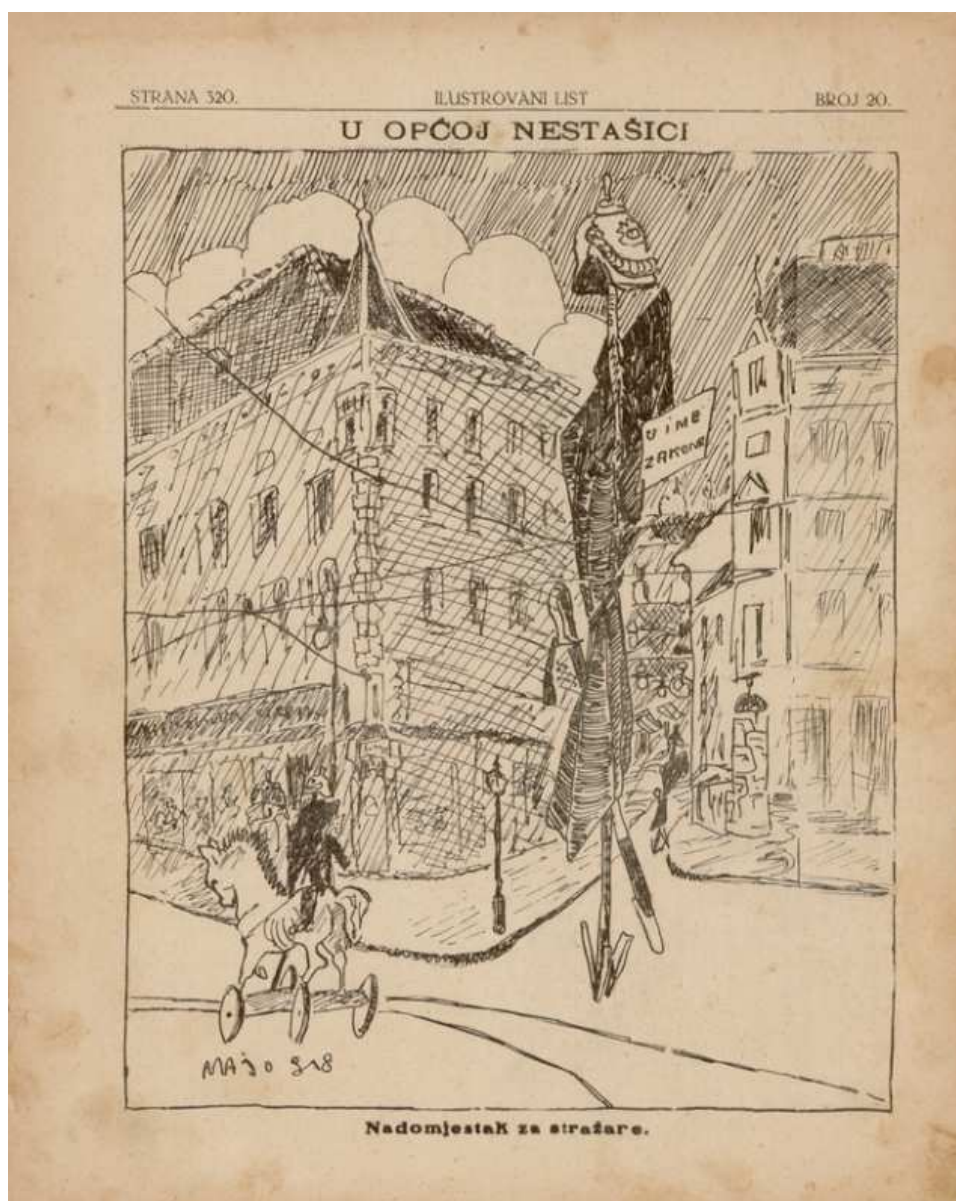
⁷¹ Vidmar, "Prilozi građi za povijest 1917–1918", 165.

⁷² Beneš, "Green Cadres and the Collapse of Austria-Hungary in 1918", 25.

⁷³ Čulinović, *Odjeci Oktobra u jugoslavenskim krajevima*, 435.

Appendixes

Appendix 1: A caricature published in the weekly newspaper *Ilustrovani list* (Zagreb, 21 July, 1918), depicting an improvised police officer holding a sign that says: “In the name of the law”. Text above: “In general scarcity”; text below: “A substitute for a watchman”.



Appendix 2: Flag of the Civil Guard of Osijek, formed in the fall of 1914. Museum of Slavonia, Osijek.



Appendix 3: A photo published in *Hrvatski list* (Osijek, 13 January, 1924), with a description: “Čaruga’s gang of robbers”. Čaruga (marked with X in the photo) and his accomplices were finally arrested in December 1923.



Appendix 4: Miners' red flag (Labin, 1921). Strčić, *Radnički pokret i NOB općine Labin*.



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Banditry and Subversion in Croatia at the End of the Long Nineteenth Century

The gradual decline of the Austro-Hungarian political power during the last phase of the First World War consequently led to the collapse of its, previously solidly established, repressive mechanisms. On one hand, mass mobilization of police officers that were sent to the battlefield raised a question of public security and increasing crime rates in some cities, including those in Croatia. For example, according to certain data, almost 70% of policemen from Osijek were recruited by the military when the war broke out. Moreover, scarcity of the working force and different provisions affected general productivity, while lack of certain materials, such as paper, posed a great challenge to authorities in their attempt to establish an effective communication network with their subordinates, or print new legal regulations. Wave of socialist revolutions in Europe (Russia, Germany, Hungary) undoubtedly made a significant impact on some members of the Croatian society between 1917 and 1919. Following the decades of ideological and organizational development of the domestic labor movement, some Croatian activists actively supported or even participated in the communist uprising in Russia and Béla Kun's Hungarian Soviet Republic at the very end of the long 19th century. It is fascinating that several attempts were made to form short-lived socialist republics on the Croatian or neighboring Hungarian territory. Concerning that, the return of soldiers from the Eastern Front, where they were exposed to the Bolshevik ideology, made the distribution of such subversive ideas even stronger. As it became clear that the war defeat was inevitable, while the concept of a new South Slavic state was getting closer to its political realization, defection hit the Monarchy's army en masse. Groups of army deserters and other radicalized individuals, known as "Green Cadres" (*zeleni kadar*), took part in collective banditry that lasted for years in Croatia-Slavonia. This presentation will question the correlation between the collapse of the Monarchy's repressive mechanisms during the period of significant sociopolitical transformation and the spread of subversive socialist ideas as well as banditry, using the Croatian context as a specific case study.